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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

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## ARTICLES

- Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: A Current Bibliography  
DONALD F. BOND AND JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE 161
- Franco-German Studies: A Current Bibliography  
RALPH P. ROSENBERG, *Chairman* 191
- Flaubert Historien des Hérésies, dans la *Tentation* JEAN SEZNEC 200
- A Recent French Adaptation of *La Estrella de Sevilla*  
HARVEY L. JOHNSON 222
- Reflections on the Origin of the Romance Languages MARIO A. PEI 235
- Neo-Grammarians and Neo-Linguists: Italian *Guglia* G. BONFANTE 240

## REVIEWS

- Andrew J. Creighton, editor, *Anticlaudian, a thirteenth-century French adaptation of the Anticlaudianus of Alain de Lille by Ellebaud.*  
[JEAN MISRAHI] 244
- Remigio Ugo Pane, *English Translations from the Spanish, 1484-1943.*  
[SIDONIA C. ROSENBAUM] 245
- Leo Kirschenbaum, *Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain.* [ANGEL DEL RÍO] 246
- José de la Riva-Agüero, *Estudios sobre literatura francesa.* [EDWARD B. HAM] 248
- Miscel·lània Fabra: Recull de treballs de lingüística catalana i romànica.*  
[MARIO A. PEI] 250

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# ANGLO-FRENCH AND FRANCO-AMERICAN STUDIES

## A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS EIGHTH ANNUAL SURVEY is devoted to the books, articles, and reviews of 1944 dealing with Anglo-French and Franco-American culture and literary history from the sixteenth century to the present day. It includes also a few items published earlier which arrived too late to be printed in last year's survey. Corrections and additions to the present list will be welcomed, as well as reprints of articles and information regarding new items which should appear in the 1945 bibliography.

DONALD F. BOND, *University of Chicago*  
JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE, *University of Virginia*

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AHR</i>	AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW	<i>MLR</i>	MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW
<i>AL</i>	AMERICAN LITERATURE	<i>MVHR</i>	MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW
<i>CHR</i>	CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW	<i>NEQ</i>	NEW ENGLAND QUARTERLY
<i>CLNL</i>	COMPARATIVE LITERATURE NEWS-LETTER, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH	<i>NQ</i>	NOTES & QUERIES
<i>CLS</i>	COMPARATIVE LITERATURE STUDIES	<i>NYTBR</i>	NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW
<i>FR</i>	FRENCH REVIEW	<i>PMLA</i>	PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
<i>JEGP</i>	JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY	<i>PQ</i>	PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
<i>JMH</i>	JOURNAL OF MODERN HISTORY	<i>RR</i>	ROMANIC REVIEW
<i>LHQ</i>	LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY	<i>SFQ</i>	SOUTHERN FOLKLORE QUARTERLY
<i>MLN</i>	MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES	<i>SP</i>	STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY
<i>MLQ</i>	MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY	<i>TLS</i>	TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## I. ANGLO-FRENCH STUDIES

### 1. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND GENERAL STUDIES

Christy, Arthur E., "A Guide to Comparative Literature," *CLNL*, November 1943, pages 2-4; October 15, 1944, pages 1-10.

Announces details of a proposed *Bibliographical Guide to Comparative Literature and Intercultural Relations*, to be prepared by various scholars, with Mr. Christy as general editor. Part II ("English Literature in its International Relations") "will list the historical and critical materials recommended by specialists for the study of foreign impacts on English literature." Part III ("American Literature and Cultures in their Foreign Relations") will be devoted to "the historical materials which reveal the debt of American literature and culture to foreign heritages."

Bond, Donald F., "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: a Current Bibliography," *RR*, xxxv (1944), 186-202.

Bonno, Gabriel, "Liste chronologique des périodiques de langue française du dix-huitième siècle," *MLQ*, v (1944), 3-25.

A useful bibliographical tool, based apparently on the three bibliographies of Hatin. Occasionally names of editors or publishers, as well as frequency of publication, are given, but Bonno's practice is not consistent. To the references under the *Mercur*es (page 4) should be added: *Choix des anciens Mercur*es, 109 volumes, 1757 et seq. The *Histoire des ouvrages des savants* (page 5) was published also at Amsterdam, chez Michel Charles Le Cene. Two short-lived journals of the abbé de la Roque are omitted: *Journaux de médecine, ou Observations des plus fameux médecins . . . de l'Europe, tirées des journaux étrangers ou des mémoires particulières* (1683) and *Journal ecclésiastique, ou Mémoires de l'église* (1686), which apparently failed after one number had appeared (see Hatin, *Bibliographie*, II, 254-256). The title (page 6) of the *Journal de Trévoux* should read: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts*. The *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* of Jean Le Clerc is listed (page 8), but not his earlier *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (with continuation by Jacques Bernard), 1686-1693, 26 volumes, or his *Bibliothèque choisie*, 1703-1713, 28 volumes (Hatin, *ibid.*, II, 246-251). At page 15 should be added: *Magazin de Londres*, 1749 (see *Monthly Review*, June 1749, page 159, which describes it as "a periodical work lately set on foot, and comes out about the middle of every month, in the French language, consisting of Five sheets, or 80 large pages, each number. Printed for R. Griffiths at the Dunciad in Ludgate-street").—D.F.B.

Hazard, Paul, *Books, Children, and Men*. Translated by Marguerite Mitchell. Boston, Horn Book, 1944. Pages xiv+176.

A survey of children's books in France, England, Spain, Italy, and America, first published in France in 1934. Reviewed by Frances C. Sayers in *Library Quarterly*, xiv (1944), 351-352.

Peyre, Henri, *Writers and their critics: a Study of Misunderstandings*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944. Pages xii+340.

Reviewed by Norman L. Torrey in *RR*, xxxvi (1945), 152-155.

Saurat, Denis, "Spiritual Attitudes in Spenser, Milton, Blake, and Hugo," *CLS*, xiii (1944), 8-12; xiv-xv (1944), 23-27.

Cowley, Malcolm, "Footnote on French Prosody," *New Republic*, May 22, 1944, pages 714, 716.

The latter half of the article contains remarks on the differences between French and English prosody.

Clements, Robert J., "The Cult of the Poet in Renaissance Emblem Literature," *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 672-685.

Stoll, Elmer E., "Molière and Shakespeare," *RR*, xxxv (1944), 3-18.

Hone, Joseph, "Richard Cantillon, Economist—Biographical Note," *Economic Journal*, LIV (1944), 96-100.

Gives a few new biographical details concerning Cantillon, (1697-1734), the Irish author of the *Essai sur la nature du commerce en général* (Londres [i.e. Paris], 1755).

- Moore, Sydney H., "Wesley and Fénelon," *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, April 1944, pages 155-157.

An attempt to point out similarities between the two religious leaders. The resemblances do not seem very close, beyond the fact that both believed in the education of women.

- Schubert, Leland, "The Realism in Romanticism: Hugo and Wordsworth," *Studies in Speech and Drama in Honor of Alexander M. Drummond* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944), pages 152-166.

- Mackey, William F., "Verlaine et Swinburne," *Le Canada Français*, xxx (1943), 732-749.

- Woodbridge, Benjamin M., "Poets and Pessimism: Vigny, Housman et alii," *RR*, xxxv (1944), 43-51.

Opposes the statement of Arnold Whitridge ("Vigny and Housman: a Study in Pessimism," *American Scholar*, x [1941], 156-169) that these are the only two pessimist poets of the nineteenth century. Woodbridge shows that Leopardi, Leconte de Lisle, and James Thomson were also true pessimists.—J.M.C.

- Temple, Ruth Z., "Some Notes on Anglo-French Literary Relations in the Late Nineteenth Century," *CLNL*, April 1944, pages 3-6.

A well-informed critical survey of scholarship.

- [Morgan, Charles], "Mary Duclaux," *TLS*, April 22, 1944, page 195.

An appreciation of the work of the late Mary Robinson Duclaux (formerly Mme Darmesteter), author of *The Life of Ernest Renan*, *The French Procession*, *Portrait of Pascal*, etc. Comment by Violet Markham, *ibid.*, May 6, page 228; by C. F. Bell, May 13, page 235.

- Bowra, C. M., *The Heritage of Symbolism*. London, Macmillan, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 187-188.

Reviewed by Kathleen Raine in *Dublin Review*, CCXIII (1944), 84-87.

- [Morgan, Charles], "About a Frenchman in England," *TLS*, April 29, 1944, page 207.

Reflections on the French and English character, apropos of the novel by Ignace Legrand, *Le Train de l'ambassade*.

- Cunard, Nancy (Editor), *Poems from France: written by British Poets on France since the War*. London, Hachette, 1944. Pages xi+95.

- Peyre, Henri, "Paul Hazard (1878-1944)," *FR*, xvii (1944), 309-319.

- Landré, Louis, "Avec Paul Hazard dans Paris libéré," *FR*, xviii (1944), 86-88.

- "Paul Hazard (1878-1944)," *RR*, xxxv (1944), 185.

- Spitzer, Leo, "Anglo-French Etymologies," *American Speech*, xix (1944), 16-27.

Contains on pages 19-20 a discussion of the word *cabrie*, antelope, recorded in Elijah H. Criswell's *Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers* (University of Missouri Studies,

xv [1940], 20), which, according to Spitzer, is attested with the meaning of "kid" in the dialects of Périgord, Poitou, Berry, Grenoble, Somme, Aisne, and various other localities of France.—J.M.C.

Spitzer, Leo, "Anglo-French Etymologies," *MLN*, LIX (1944), 223-250.

Spitzer, Leo, "Anglo-French Etymologies," *SP*, XLI (1944), 521-543.

Discusses *harlot*, *lampoon*, *lapel*, *loiter*, *per(s)nickety*, *squander*, *(s)queazy*, and *turmoil*.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Hayes, Richard, "Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France," *Studies*, XXXIII (1944), 68-80, 237-248, 367-377, 505-515.

The present installments of this valuable series cover names from Edward Kirwan to Francis Moylan.

Gooch, G. P., *Courts and Cabinets*. London, Longmans, 1944. Pages 323.

An attractive commentary on some of the more important memoir-writers, French and English from "La Grande Mademoiselle" and Saint-Simon, Horace Walpole and Fanny Burney, to Caulaincourt and Juliette Adam.

Jalland, Beatrice M., "John Cosin and the French Reformed Church," *Church Quarterly Review*, CXXXVIII (1944), 192-203.

M., J. E., "The British Embassy in Paris, 1641-1660," *NQ*, CLXXXVII (1944), 124.

Comment by Meovitulus, *ibid.*, page 284.

Lyons, Sir Henry, *The Royal Society, 1660-1940: a History of its Administration under its Charters*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1944. Pages x+354.

Important for the relations between English and French scientists, particularly of the late seventeenth century.

Reviewed in *TLS*, December 30, 1944, page 630.

Hanson, Laurence, "Sir William Temple, Pamphleteer," *TLS*, January 15, 1944, page 36.

Calls attention to a tract of 1666 in the British Museum: *Lettre d'un marchand de Londres a son amy à Amsterdam depuis la dernière bataille de mer. Sur l'occasion & le remède de la guerre présente*, referred to in letters of the Earl of Arlington to Temple (July 30 and August 24, 1666) and hitherto unidentified by Temple's biographers.

H., H. S., "The 'Lost' Sixth Douay Diary," *NQ*, CLXXXVI (1944), 84-86.

Notes on the history of the diaries, with conjectures as to the present location of the sixth diary, covering the years 1676-1692.

Harcourt-Bath, William, "The Huguenots and their Descendants in Plymouth," *NQ*, CLXXXVII (1944), 56-57.

Turner, Winifred (Editor), "Some Letters of the Marquis de Ruigny," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XVII (1944), 244-261.

Prints several letters (1688-1691) by Henri de Massue, second Marquis de Ruigny, afterwards Earl of Galway.

Rambaut, B. R., "The Huguenot Family of Hautenville in Ireland and some of its Connexions," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xvii (1944), 262-266.

"John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744)," *Nature*, CLIII (1944), 246.

On the French scientist who took refuge in England in the early eighteenth century.

McDowell, R. B., *Irish Public Opinion, 1750-1800*. London, Faber & Faber, 1944.

Deals with the impact of French Revolutionary ideas in Ireland in the late eighteenth century. Reviewed by C. O'C. in *Studies*, XXXIII (1944), 421-422; in *TLS*, July 22, 1944, page 359.

Gershoy, Leo, *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789*. New York and London, Harper, 1944. Pages xvi+355.

Reviewed by Geoffrey Bruun in *JMH*, xvi (1944), 309.

Elwell, Clarence E., *The Influence of the Enlightenment on the Catholic Theory of Religious Education in France, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1944. Pages 335.

Bryant, Arthur, *Years of Victory, 1802-1814*. London, Collins, 1944. Page 499.

Reviewed in *TLS*, December 23, 1944, page 618.

Kirby, Chester, "The Caricaturists' War against Napoleon," *Books at Brown* [University Library], Vol. vi, Number 4 (1944), pages 2-6.

Klingberg, Frank J., and Sigurd B. Hustvedt, *The Warning Drum: the British Home Front Faces Napoleon: Broadides of 1803*. (Publication of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.) Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944. Pages x+287.

MacArthur, J. S., "A Nineteenth-century Prophet on France," *Church Quarterly Review*, CXXXVIII (1944), 112-117.

Comments on "The Disenchantment of France," an essay by F. W. H. Meyers in the *Nineteenth Century*, May 1888.

Camille Pissarro: *Letters to his Son Lucien*. Edited, with the assistance of Lucien Pissarro, by John Rewald, Translated from the French manuscript by Lionel Abel. New York, Pantheon Books, 1943; London, Kegan Paul, 1944. Pages 367.

Covers the period from 1883, when Lucien Pissarro went to London, to 1903, the date of Camille Pissarro's death. Contains interesting comments on English artists of the period and late Victorian ideas on art.

Reviewed by H. G. F[ell] in *Connoisseur*, CXIX (1944), 59; by Jerome Mellquist in *Magazine of Art*, XXXVIII (1945), 36-37; in *TLS*, July 22, 1944, pages 354, 358.

Jordan, W. M., *Great Britain, France and the German Problem, 1918-1939*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1944. Pages xi+235.

Reviewed by Hans Kohn in *NYTBR*, June 4, 1944, page 27.

McCallum, R. B., *England and France, 1939-1943*. London, Hamish Hamilton, 1944. Pages 186.

Reviewed in *TLS*, December 2, 1944, page 578.

### 3. FRENCH > ENGLISH INFLUENCES

Atkinson, Dorothy F., "The Wandering Knight, the Red Cross Knight and 'Miles Dei,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vii (1944), 109-134.

Parallels between the *Faerie Queene*, Book 1, and *Le Voyage du Chevalier errant* (Antwerp, 1557), by the Flemish mystic, Jean Cartigny (or de Cartheny), translated into English by William Goodyear as *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight* (London, 1581).

Livesay, John Leon, "An Immediate Source for *Faerie Queene*, Bk. V, Proem," *MLN*, lix (1944), 469-472.

The source is Loys Le Roy's *La Vicissitude ou variété des choses en l'univers* (Paris, 1575), translated by Robert Ashley as *Interchangeable Course, or Variety of things in the Whole World* (London, 1594). The statement (page 470) that "as a prime document in the history of the quarrel of the ancients and moderns it has received surprisingly little attention" is an exaggeration. It is discussed by J. B. Bury at some length (*The Idea of Progress* [London, 1920], pages 44-49), and more recently by Francis R. Johnson (*Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* [Baltimore, 1937], pages 182-183, 296-299). Johnson (page 296) calls it "perhaps the finest and most extensive expression of the theory of progress." Le Roy's book is mentioned also by Charles M. Coffin (*John Donne and the New Philosophy* [New York, 1937], page 268), who gives 1568 as the date of the first edition.—D.F.B.

Higgins, Michael, "The Convention of the Stoic Hero as handled by Marston," *MLR*, xxxix (1944), 338-346.

A study of the method whereby Marston takes "certain stoical and sceptical elements in Montaigne's thought and [uses] them to illustrate or bring into relief the pessimism and melancholia of the Jacobean age."

Ting, N. T., "The Historical Sources of Patrick Hannay's *Sheretina* and *Mariana*," *JEGP*, xliii (1944), 242-247.

Shows that details in Hannay's poems are based on *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie*, translated from the French of Martin Fumée (1594) by Rooke Church in 1600.

McKee, David Rice, "Isaac de la Peyrère, a Precursor of eighteenth-century Critical Deists," *PMLA*, lix (1944), 456-485.

The chief value of this long and informative article is in its discussion of the backgrounds of eighteenth-century French deism, but it also points out the influence of La Peyrère on Charles Blount and Thomas Burnet, and shows that the English deists Anthony Collins and William Tindal used many of La Peyrère's arguments.—D.F.B.

Congleton, J. E., "Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684-1717," *SP*, xli (1944), 544-575.

Traces in detail the development in England of the "two chief theories" regarding pastoral: the "neo-classical," taking the great ancient critics and pastoral poets as guides (illustrated by Rapin) and the "rational," following the natural enlightenment

of reason (illustrated by Fontenelle). "The immediate source of the basic ideas of each school is in the French criticism of the second half of the seventeenth century. The neo-classicists were fundamentally influenced by Rapin; the rationalists, Fontenelle" (page 545).

- Horsley, Phyllis M., "Aaron Hill: an English Translator of *Méropé*," *CLS*, xii (1944), 17-23.

Reviews the facts about Hill and criticizes his translation on the basis of the rules laid down by A. F. Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee) in his *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1791). In contrast to the generally favorable reviews of Hill's *Méropé* cited by Miss Horsley (pages 17-18) an adverse criticism is to be found in the *Magazin de Londres*, number 2 (April, 1749), referred to by a writer in the *Monthly Review*, 1 (1749), 159, who adds: Hill "seems to have drawn it upon himself by his indecent treatment of *Voltaire*, whom he copies and rails at."—D.F.B.

- Randall, Helen Whitcomb, *The Critical Theory of Lord Kames*. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages.) Northampton, Mass., Smith College, [1944]. Pages viii + 147.

A valuable analysis of the backgrounds, chief tendencies, and influence of the *Elements of Criticism* by Henry Home, Lord Kames (Edinburgh, 1762, 3 volumes). See especially pages 51-59 for Kames's relationship to Cornielle, Boileau and French criticism, and pages 75-77 for the quarrel between Lord Kames and Voltaire.—D.F.B.

- Lough, J., "L'Esprit des lois in a Scottish University in the eighteenth century," *CLS*, xiii (1944), 13-16.

Fresh material from the manuscript notes of the lectures given at Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1762-1763 (or 1763-1764) by the poet James Beattie during his tenure as Professor of Moral Philosophy.

- Mossner, Ernest C., *The Forgotten Hume: Le bon David*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 190.

Reviewed by Leo L. Camp in *MLQ*, v (1944), 499-500; by W. T. Laprade in *JMH*, xvi (1945), 64; by Frederick A. Pottle in *MLN*, lix (1944), 294-295.

- Warner, James H., "Emile in Eighteenth-century England," *PMLA*, lix (1944), 773-791.

A study of the translations of *Emile*, its vogue in England, and its reception by critics. Warner's conclusion is directly opposed to that of Jacques Pons (1919): "although *Emile* stands at the head of Rousseau's works in point of eighteenth-century English diffusion . . . its reputation was predominantly unfavorable" (page 791).

- Meyer, George W., *Wordsworth's Formative Years*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 191.

Reviewed by John Quincy Wolf, Jr., in *MLN*, lix (1944), 424-426.

- Pfeiffer, Karl G., "The Theme of Desertion in Wordsworth," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, xii (1944), 122-128.

A study of seven of Wordsworth's poems written between the years 1793 and 1799, i.e., just after the poet's affair with Annette Vallon in France, in an attempt "to ascertain what they reveal of Wordsworth's state of mind during these years." Pfeiffer believes that these poems, all of which deal in one form or another with



desertion, are colored by Wordsworth's experiences in France, and that the affair with Annette Vallon was more important in bringing about Wordsworth's period of depression than scholars have allowed. It is an attractive hypothesis, but the attempt to argue from a poet's work back to his state of mind is always dangerous and, when undertaken by less careful scholars, may lead to fanciful conclusions.—D.F.B.

Curry, Kenneth, "Southey's Visit to Caroline Wordsworth Baudouin," *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 599-602.

Einstein, Lewis, "Shelley and Stendhal," *TLS*, July 22, 1944, page 355.

Suggests that Stendhal may have first interested Shelley in the story of the Cenci. Comment by T. W. Earp and G. M. Hort, *ibid.*, July 29, page 367.

Thompson, D. W., "Keats's 'To the Nile,'" *MLN*, LIX (1944), 331-332.

Points out that the third line may be explained by a reference to Savary's *Lettres sur l'Egypte* (Paris, 1786). "There is no evidence that Keats read Savary's book (which had been translated into English) but, as Shelley must have drawn upon it for his 'Ozymandias,' published shortly before in Hunt's *Examiner*, it seems plausible that Keats heard the story from Shelley" (page 332).

Roche, Alphonse, "Anglo-Saxon Attitudes toward Frédéric Mistral and the Félibrige," *MLQ*, v (1944), 207-218.

Cook, Viola, "Browning's 'Parley' and de Lassay's 'Mémoire,'" *MLN*, LIX (1944), 553-556.

The second of Browning's *Parleyings with Certain People* ("with Daniel Bartoli") concerns a story originally told by the Marquis de Lassay. Miss Cook shows, however, that Browning's direct source is not de Lassay but Sainte-Beuve (*Causeries du lundi*, ix).

Major, John Campbell, "Matthew Arnold and Attic Prose Style," *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 1086-1103.

Arnold's conception of Attic prose style rests upon his appreciation of French prose, and in his treatment of the various types of style he generally follows Sainte-Beuve's use of the words *Attic*, *Asiatic*, *provincial*, *urbane*.—J.M.C.

Richardson, Dorothy, "Saintsbury and Art for Art's Sake in England," *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 243-260.

Longaker, Mark, *Ernest Dowson*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pages xii+282.

A biography of the *fin de siècle* poet. Dowson translated Zola's *La Terre* for the Lute-tian Society in 1894, Balzac's *La Fille aux yeux d'or* (1896), and several other French works. For his contacts with France and his visits in Paris and Pont-Aven (Brit-tany) see chapters VII and VIII. Longaker points out (page 183) that Dowson's recognition in France was largely due to the efforts of Henry Davray, the critic for the *Mercure de France* who had been educated at Oxford. Davray's services to the vogue of English literature in France in the early twentieth century merit further investigation.—D.F.B.

LeGallienne, Richard, *From a Paris Garret*. With an Introduction by Grant Richards. London, Richards Press, 1944. Pages 294.



"Anatole France," *TLS*, April 15, 1944, page 187.

A centenary tribute, dealing principally with his reputation in England. Cf. also the editorial, "Anatole France (1844-1924): a reviving reputation," *ibid.*, page 188.

Roditi, Edouard, "A French Poet and his English Critics," *Sewanee Review*, LII (1944), 102-117.

Deals with English interest in Rimbaud, chiefly in the work of George Moore, Arthur Symonds, and Charles Whibley, none of whom "attempted any literary appreciation of Rimbaud's writing or any exact evaluation of the technical novelties that he had introduced into French poetry." The most valuable appreciation in English of Rimbaud's work, according to Roditi, is to be found in the essays by Count S. C. de Soissons in the *Contemporary Review* of June 1902 and April 1912.

Lindner, Gladys, *Marcel Proust: Reviews and Estimates in English*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1942. Cf. *RR*, xxxiv (1943), 163.

Reviewed by L. A. Bisson in *MLR*, xxxiv (1944), 92.

#### 4. ENGLISH > FRENCH INFLUENCES

Lapp, J. C., "The Defeat of the Armada in French Poetry of the Sixteenth Century," *JEGP*, XLIII (1944), 98-100.

"The sole contemporary tribute in foreign poetry, and indeed the only creditable poem of the time in any language on the subject of England's greatest naval triumph, came from the pen of the French Huguenot, Pierre Poupo." This is Poupo's poem, "Sur la Deffaite de l'Armée navale d'Espagne." Leicester Bradner, "Poems on the Defeat of the Spanish Armada," *ibid.*, pages 447-448, points out a number of other poems on the defeat of the Armada, mainly in Latin and by Continental Protestants.

Patrick, J. Max, "Scydromedia, a Forgotten Utopia of the Seventeenth Century," *PQ*, xxiii (1944), 273-282.

By Antoine Le Grand, 1669.

C[hicoteau], M[arcel] and K[enneth] U[rwin], "The Eighteenth Century in Zürich," *CLS*, xiv-xv (1944), 27.

Calls attention to an anthology edited by Max Wehrli, *Das Geistige Zürich im 18. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, 1943).

Alexander, Ian W., "Voltaire and Metaphysics," *Philosophy*, xix (1944), 19-48.

An important article, particularly for Voltaire's interpretation of Locke.

Havens, George R., *Voltaire and English Critics of Shakespeare*. (Franco-American Pamphlets, 2nd series, Number 16.) New York, American Society of the French Legion of Honor, 1944. Pages 12.

An attractively written essay reminding the general reader that Voltaire's criticisms of Shakespeare were no more adverse than the statements of such English critics as Rymer and Gildon.

Monaco, Marion, "Shakespeare on the French Stage in the Eighteenth Century," *Microfilm Abstracts*, v, Number 1 (1943), 18-20.

Montesquieu: *Extraits sur la loi, la liberté, et le gouvernement anglais*. With an Introductory Essay by Roger B. Oake. (Princeton Texts in Literature and the History of Thought, Romance Section, 2.) Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944. Pages xiv+46.

Dieckmann, Herbert, "The Influence of Francis Bacon on Diderot's *Interprétation de la nature*," *RR*, xxxiv (1943), 303-330.

Lipton, Charles, "The Social Thought of Diderot," *Science and Society*, viii (1944), 126-142.

Gaudin, Lois S., *Les Lettres anglaises dans l'Encyclopédie*. New York (Privately Printed), 1942. Cf. *RR*, xxxiv (1943), 164; xxxv (1944), 194.

Reviewed by Gwyn Jones in *MLR*, xxxix (1944), 90-91.

Cailliet, Emile, *La Tradition littéraire des idéologues*. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 193.

Reviewed by F. T. H. Fletcher in *MLR*, xxxix (1944), 307-308; by F. A. v. Hayek in *Economica*, xi (1944), 158-159; by Raymond O. Rockwood in *AHR*, xlix (1944), 788; by H. Dieckmann in *RR*, xxxv (1944), 256-262.

Engel, Claire-Eliane, "English Novels in Switzerland in the xviii<sup>th</sup> Century," *CLS*, xiv-xv (1944), 2-8.

Some interesting references on the vogue of Richardson, Sterne, and others on the Continent. Page 7: The *Sentimental Journey* was published in 1768, not 1761. The title of Mrs. Haywood's novel should read: *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*. The author of *Julia Mandeville* was Frances Brooke. For the *Geschichte der Miss Beville* see M. B. and L. M. Price, *The Publication of English Literature in Germany in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, California, 1934), page 123.—D.F.B.

Eggl, Edm., "Quelques suggestions de Lady Morgan à Mérimée et à Vigny," *CLS*, xii (1944), 14-17.

The concluding instalment of an article begun in *CLS*, xi (1943), 1-4; it advances the possibility that Vigny's *Maison du berger* and *Servitude et grandeur militaires* owe something to Lady Morgan's *France* (1817). The parallels between *France* and the *Maison du berger* are not striking.—D.F.B.

Bennett, Joseph D., *Baudelaire: a Criticism*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944. Pages viii+165.

An analysis of the esthetic and spiritual background of Baudelaire, with brief but interesting references to Arnold, Byron, Swinburne, and other English authors.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by Margaret Gilman in *MLN*, lx (1945), 274-276; by Robert Lowell in *Sewanee Review*, lmi (1945), 139-140.

Taine: *Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature anglaise*. Avec des remarques préliminaires par Gilbert Chinard. (Princeton Texts in Literature and the History of Thought, Romance Section, 3.) Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944. Pages xix+29.

Holahan, Sister Mary B., *Newman in France*. (Abstract of Dissertation.) Urbana, Illinois, 1943.

"Travels in France: a Vignette of Talma," *Theatre Arts*, xxviii (1944), 311-314.

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Bisson, L. A., "Proust and Ruskin: Reconsidered in the Light of 'Lettres à une amie,'" *MLR*, xxxix (1944), 28-37.

An illuminating study of the significance of the recently (1942) published letters of Proust to Marie Nordlinger, now Mme Riefstahl (cf. *RR*, xxxiv [1943], 165), showing the relationship between the Ruskin influence and *A la Recherche du temps perdu*.—D.F.B.

## II. FRANCO-AMERICAN STUDIES

### 1. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND GENERAL STUDIES

Ducharme, Jacques, "Bibliographie franco-américaine," *Bulletin de la société historique franco-américaine 1942* (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1943), pages 97-108.

Cf. Gabriel Nadeau in *Culture*, v (1944), 57-68 for additions and corrections.

Bowe, Forrest, *Catalogue and Book Want List (Number 5)*. New York, Forrest Bowe, 1944. Pages 54.

Contains many items of Franco-American interest.

*Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*. Volume II: *Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, by Waldo G. Leland, John J. Meng, and Abel Doysie. Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1943. Pages xii+1078.

Volume I of this important guide was published in 1932.

Reviewed by Lawrence H. Gipson in *Catholic Historical Review*, xxx (1945), 476-477; by Louis Gottschalk in *JMH*, xvi (1944), 140-141.

Rabinovitz, Albert L., *Index to Early American Periodical Literature, 1728-1870*. No. 5: *French Fiction*. New York, William-Frederick Press, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 196.

Reviewed by Rubin Cohen in *RR*, xxxv (1944), 267-269 (points out a number of omissions).

Kent, Henry W., "Encore Moreau de Saint-Méry," in *Bookmen's Holiday: Notes and Studies written and gathered in tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg* (New York, New York Public Library, 1943), pages 239-247.

Biographical notes on this late eighteenth-century Philadelphia printer and bookseller, with an analysis of the catalogue of his library.

Chinard, Gilbert, "Vieux papiers," *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine 1942* (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1943), pages 43-48.

A plea for the preservation of documents, old and new, bearing on the history of French civilization in the United States.

Hays, Edna, "Comparative Literature in American Universities," *CLNL*, October 1943, pages 2-4.

*La Vie franco-américaine* 1943. Quebec, Comité permanent de la Survivance française en Amérique, 1944. Pages 914.

An indispensable book of reference on the various aspects of life—political, intellectual, and social—among the French-speaking population of New England. This is the sixth annual volume of this series, all of which are essential to students of contemporary French activities in the United States.—J.M.C.

"France-America," *American Society Legion of Honor Magazine*, xv (1944), 201-218.

A summary of the rôle played by France in the development of the United States.

Bowers, David F. (editor). *Foreign Influences in American Life: Essays and Critical Bibliographies*. (Princeton Studies in American Civilization, Volume II). Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944. Pages x+254.

Reviewed by Joseph L. Blau in *Journal of Philosophy*, xli (1944), 669-671; by Mary E. Dillon in *American Political Science Review*, xxxviii (1944), 1242-1243; by Ferner Nuhn in *Christian Century*, November 1, 1944, pages 1256-1257.

Johnson, Alvin, "De la Démocratie franco-américaine," *République Française*, avril-mai 1944, pages 3-4.

Maurois, André, *The Miracle of America*. Translated by Denver and Jane Lindley. New York, Harper, 1944. Pages xii+400.

Stresses contributions of Frenchmen who have helped to make America. A translation of *Histoire des Etats-Unis* (New York, Editions de la Maison Française, 1943-1944, 2 volumes).

Reviewed by John Richard Alden in *MVHR*, xxxi (1944), 477-478; by Charles A. Barker in *Pacific Historical Review*, xiv (1945), 89-90.

Nadeau, Gabriel, "Chronique franco-américaine," *Culture*, v (1944), 56-68, 184-195, 303-314, 449-460.

This most useful *chronique* is defined by Nadeau as a "relevé bibliographique des écrits,—livres, opuscles, brochures, articles de revues et de journaux,—dûs à la plume de Franco-Américains ou d'auteurs étrangers qui s'intéressent à la vie franco-américaine." The expression "vie franco-américaine" refers here to the activities of the French-speaking population of New England. The following items are particularly important: first, "Bibliographie," pages 57-68, a long list of corrections and additions to the Franco-American bibliography which Jacques Ducharme published in his book, *The Shadows of the Trees*, 1943; second, "Washington and 'The Murder of Jumonville,'" pages 307-311; third, "Bibliothèques et collections," a description of several New England collections rich in Franco-American material, pages 311-314; fourth, a review of *Brunswick's Golden Age* by E. C. Kirkland, 1941, pages 451-454; fifth, a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine* 1942, pages 455-457.—J.M.C.

Robert, Adolphe, *Un Lettré illettré: étude sur Adélard Lambert, Collectionneur et Folkloriste*, s.l. [1944]. Pages 11.

Reprinted from *Le Travailleur* of August 10 and 17, 1944. A biographical sketch of a

Canadian who spent many years in Manchester, N. H., and a description of his large collection of books and journals dealing with French-Canadian and Franco-American history. The library now belongs to the Association Canado-Américaine of Manchester. Cf. Edward B. Ham, "The Library of the Association Canado-Américaine," *MLN*, LII (1937), 542-544.

Taupin, René, "La Démocratie en France et en Amérique," *République Française*, October, 1944, pages 17-18.

Stresses the differences of spiritual climate in which the French and American democracies developed.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Lancot, Gustave, "Cartier's First Voyage to Canada in 1524," *CHR*, xxv (1944), 233-245.

Attempts "to show and prove that Jacques Cartier's first voyage to the Canadian coast took place, not in 1534, but in 1524, ten years before his exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence" (page 233).

Garneau, F.-X., *Histoire du Canada*. Huitième édition entièrement revue et augmentée par son petit-fils Hector Garneau. Montreal, Editions de l'Arbre, 1944. 5 volumes.

This edition of Garneau's work, first published 1845-1848 and still the classic history of Canada, will comprise eight volumes. The five volumes published cover the French régime (1535-1759). Material on Louisiana will be found in Volume III, pages 7-70, and in Volume IV, pages 9-36, 127-172. The struggle between the French and English in North America is treated in Volume II, pages 198-222; Volume III, pages 131-297; Volume IV, pages 37-105; Volume V, pages 9-307.—J.M.C.

Reviewed (Volumes I-II) by Archange Godbout in *Culture*, v (1944), 494.

Adair, E. R., "France and the Beginnings of New France," *CHR*, xxv (1944), 246-278.

Lord, Robert H., John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of its Development, 1604-1943*. New York, Sheed & Ward, 1944. 3 volumes.

Volume I, covering the period 1604-1825, is devoted almost entirely to the activities of French Catholics in New England; Volume II contains a few pages (pages 571-573) about French-Canadians who came to Vermont about 1850; and Volume III treats of emigrants from Quebec, who arrived in large numbers from 1870 (pages 197-215, 726-733).

Reviewed by J. C. Webster in *CHR*, xxv (1944), 442-444.

Loughrey, Mary Ellen, *France and Rhode Island, 1686-1800*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1944. Pages 196.

Menk, Patricia H., "Notes on Some Early Huguenot Settlements," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LII (1944), 194-196.

Describes the attempts, largely unsuccessful, made at the end of the seventeenth century, to settle Huguenots in Stafford county and in the Northern Neck, Virginia.

- Delanglez, Jean, "Claude Dablon, S.J. (1619-1697)," *Mid-America*, xxvi (1944), 91-110.

A study of the contributions made by this missionary to the knowledge of the geography of the Middle West.

- Delanglez, Jean, "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *Mid-America*, xxvi (1944), 301-324.

Jolliet's account as recorded by Father Dablon, who interviewed him on his return from his epoch-making trip.

- Delanglez, Jean, "Cadillac's Early Years in America," *Mid-America*, xxvi (1944), 3-39.

A biographical sketch of the founder of Detroit, from his arrival in Acadia about 1683 to 1694, when he left Montreal for the West.

- Delanglez, Jean, "The Voyages of Tonti in North America, 1678-1704," *Mid-America*, xxvi (1944), 255-300.

An exhaustive study of Tonti's trips through the Mississippi valley, reconstructed from the writings of the explorer and other contemporary sources.

- Albrecht, Andrew C., "The Location of the Historic Natchez Villages," *Journal of Mississippi History*, vi (1944), 67-88.

- Frégault, Guy, *Iberville le Conquérant*. Montreal, Société des Editions Pascal, 1944. Pages 415.

A definitive study of the great Canadian soldier, whose life was spent fighting for French supremacy from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. It contains a long chapter (pages 264-362) on d'Iberville's contributions to the exploration and colonization of Louisiana, and another (pages 363-415) in which Frégault stresses the importance which the French explorer attached to Louisiana in the French scheme of colonial expansion.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by Léo-Paul Desrosiers in *Culture*, v(1944), 181-183.

- Frenière, Maxime-O., "Les Maires franco-américains des villes des Etats-Unis," *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine 1942* (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1943), pages 109-113.

A list of French and Franco-American mayors from 1684 to 1942. For additions see the *Bulletin* . . . 1943 (1944), page 110.

- Kraus, Michael, "Literary Relations between Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, I (1944), 210-234.

- Gipson, Lawrence H., *Zones of International Friction: Canada, The West Indies, India, 1743-1754*. (The British Empire before the American Revolution, v). New York, Knopf, 1942. Pages xlviii + 352.

An indispensable book on the subject of Anglo-French rivalry in Canada and the Mississippi Valley.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by George Brown in *AHR*, XLVIII (1943), 194-196; by A. L. Burt in *CHR*, xxiii (1942), 412-415; by Bruce T. McCully in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, I (1944), 321-324.

- Long, Morden H., *History of the Canadian People*. Volume 1. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942; Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1943. Pages xiv+375.

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Reviewed by Oscar Cargill in *NYTBR*, April 23, 1944, page 14; by A. B. Corey in *CHR*, xxv (1944), 432-434; by C. L. Mowatt in *Pacific Historical Review*, xiii (1944), 196-197; by Hilda Neatby in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, xxxv (1944), 273-274.

- M[unsterberg], M[argaret], "A Contemporary Survey of French Louisiana," *More Books: the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, xix (1944), 329.

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- Shelby, Charmion, "The Effect of the Spanish Reoccupation of Eastern Texas upon French Policy in Louisiana, 1715-1717," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xxiv (1944), 605-613.

The French accepted a policy of "watchful waiting." France's position in both Europe and America made an aggressive stand inadvisable.

- Gilmore, H. W., "The Old New Orleans and the New: a Case for Ecology," *American Sociological Review*, ix (1944), 385-394.

Contains interesting information on the place of the Creoles in the history of the ecological pattern of New Orleans. The sections inhabited by the old French families have proved very resistant to penetration by other ethnic groups.—J.M.C.

- "Annals of Louisiana from 1698 to 1722 by M. Pénicault reprinted from Vol. 6 of B. F. French's 'Historical Collection of Louisiana,' New York, 1869," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, v (1943), 258-355.

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- Saucier, Corinne L., *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana*. New Orleans, Pelican Publishing Company, 1944. Pages 542+19.

A valuable contribution to the political and social history of the French-speaking area of Louisiana.—J.M.C.

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Contains two interesting chapters, "Un peu d'histoire" (pages 11-23) on the contributions made by Montreal to the exploration and development of Louisiana, and "Un Canadien en Louisiane en 1943" (pages 137-160), an account of the author's trip to southern Louisiana. The second of these chapters will also be found in *Les Cahiers des Dix*, Number 8 (Montreal, 1943), pages 55-73.—J.M.C.



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Reviewed by Calvin Claudel in *SFQ*, viii (1944), 101; by W. B. Hatcher in *MVHR*, xxxi (1944), 310-311.

Kane, Harnett T., *Deep Delta Country*. New York, Duell Sloan and Pearce, 1944. Pages xx+283.

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Pages 16-76, 103-110, 198-207, 324-326 deal with the history of the French in this region.

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See pages 19-90, 215-227 for the history of the French in this region.

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Iben, Icko, "Notes from the Work Shop: Marriage in Old Cahokia," *Illinois Libraries*, xxvi (1944), 473-483.

A discussion of marriage laws and customs based upon seventy marriage contracts, deposited between 1763 and 1802 for registration with the Clerk of Records in Cahokia.

Marchand, Sidney A., *Acadian Exiles in the Golden Coast of Louisiana*. Donaldsonville, La., The Author, 1943. Pages 112.

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Milling, Chapman J., *Exile without End*. Columbia, S. C., Bostick and Thornley, 1943. Pages xiv+88.

A fascinating little book about the history of the Acadians who were deported to South Carolina in 1755.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by A. H. Buffington in *MVHR*, xxxi (1944), 151; by Charles E. Cauthen in *Journal of Southern History*, x (1944), 215-216; by St. Julien R. Childs in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, xlv (1944), 186-187; by Angie Debo in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xxii (1944), 117; by Archange Godbout in *Culture*, v (1944), 352-354; by Joseph L. O'Brien in *Catholic Historical Review*, xxx (1944), 178-179; by J. C. Webster in *CHR*, xxv (1944), 72-74.



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Fabre-Surveyer, Edouard, "Pierre Berthelet and his Family," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd series, xxxvii (1943), 57-76.

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On the descendants of Guillaume and François Le Conte, early Huguenot settlers of New Rochelle.

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Hartridge, Walter C., "The St. Domingan Refugees in New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, lxii (1944), 197-206.

Wildes, Harry E., *Lonely Midas: the Story of Stephen Girard*. New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1943. Pages xii+372.

Reviewed by Kenneth L. Brown in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, lxxviii (1944), 217-218.

Chinard, Gilbert, "The American Philosophical Society and the World of Science (1768-1800)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lxxxviii (1943), 1-11.

*The Letters of Lafayette to Washington, 1777-1779*. Edited by Louis Gottschalk. New York, Privately Printed by Helen Fahnestock Hubbard, 1944. Pages xxxv+417.

An important book. Although the majority of these letters have already been published elsewhere, the editor decided to reproduce these along with the still unpublished letters, for the sake of completeness, and also because the earlier publications are in few instances complete or accurate.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by André Maurois in *Pour la Victoire*, February 3, 1945, page 8.

Brandon, Edgar Ewing, *A Pilgrimage of Liberty: a Contemporary Account of the Triumphant Tour of General Lafayette through the Southern and Western States in 1825, as reported by the Local Newspapers*. Athens, Ohio, Lawhead Press, 1944. Pages 487.

Contemporary press notices of the 1825 tour, supplemented by material from the journal of Lafayette's secretary Levasseur and other sources. A later volume is promised for the rest of Lafayette's visit.

Reviewed by T. P. Abernethy in *AHR*, xlix (1944), 796; by Louis Gottschalk in *MVHR*, xxxi (1944), 125-127; by William Marion Miller in *FR*, xviii (1944), 119-120.

M., E. F., "General Lafayette's Visit to America in 1824-5," *NQ*, clxxxvii (1944), 101.

Voorhees, Oscar M., "Commander Ralph Voorhees and his Account of Lafayette's Return Voyage in 1825," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LXII (1944), 80-83.

McCombs, Charles Flowers, "The Imprisonment of Madame de Lafayette during the Terror," in *Bookmen's Holiday: Notes and Studies written and gathered in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg* (New York, New York Public Library, 1943), pages 362-394.

Describes the efforts of Monroe, then American minister in Paris, to obtain Madame de Lafayette's release and contains letters (pages 375-390) from Mme de Lafayette to him and other documents of interest on the history of Franco-American relations. —J.M.C.

Durey, Hélène, "Sur les Traces de Rochambeau," *Pour la Victoire*, June 10, 1944, page 10.

An account of Rochambeau's sojourn in Williamsburg, Virginia.

"L'Etrange Histoire de Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais," *F Mail*, 1, Number 9 (1944), 18-19.

An account of Beaumarchais' contribution to the cause of American independence.

Ludes, Mary Mildred, "The Faith Crushed in England under Elizabeth Restored to Honor through French Recognition of an Independent America," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, LV (1944), 1-29, 135-153, 250-261, 348-354.

The author believes that the American Revolution was "a war carried on along lines of Catholic principles" and that consequently "nothing can be more vital than understanding the beginnings of Catholic freedom of worship that has led to such astounding and glorious results" (page 4).

Coan, Marion S., "A Revolutionary Prison Diary: the Journal of Dr. Jonathan Haskins," *NEQ*, XVII (1944), 290-309, 424-442.

Contains a number of references to French participation in the American Revolution and particularly a description of Haskins' visit to Lorient in 1779.

Chinard, Gilbert, "Les Papiers américains de Louis-Guillaume Otto, Comte de Mosloy," *Bulletin de l'Institut Française de Washington*, XVI (1943), 9-15.

A biographical sketch of this personage, who was a member of the French diplomatic staff in the United States from 1779 to 1792. This sketch is followed by the text of his "Considerations" on the conduct of the American government toward France from 1792 to 1797 (pages 16-37).

Murray, Elsie, "French Experiments in Pioneering in Northern Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVIII (1944), 175-188.

Murray, Elsie, "French Refugees of 1793 in Pennsylvania," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXVII (1944), 387-393.

- Levadoux, Michel, *Eulogy on George Washington: Delivered in Ste. Anne's Church, Detroit, February 1797*. Edited and translated by Edward B. Ham. Ann Arbor, Mich., William L. Clements Library, 1944. Pages 28.

Reviewed by Julian Park in *MLQ*, vi (1945), 125.

- Leduc, Gilbert F., *Washington and the Murder of Jumonville*. Boston, La Société historique franco-américaine, 1943. Pages iii+235.

A book which has provoked very strong reaction—in some cases really violent—in French-Canadian and Franco-American circles, because its conclusions run counter to the view generally accepted in these circles that Washington cannot be absolved from all guilt in the death of Jumonville. Leduc's findings disagree specifically with those of Georges Robitaille (*Washington et Jumonville: étude critique* [Montreal, Le Devoir, 1933]). For the controversy between these two historians see their letters in *Le Travailleur*, August 31, 1944, pages 1, 3, 7; September 28, 1944, pages 1-3; January 2, 1945, page 1; February 1, 1945, pages 1-4. According to A. T. Volwiller (*AHR*, L [1945], 402) the question is still undecided, because those who have studied this episode in the early life of Washington have relied too much on uncritical texts and have failed to make full use of archive materials in London and Paris.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by Edmund C. Burnett in *Catholic Historical Review*, xxx (1944), 110; by Gustave Lanctot in *CHR*, xxv (1944), 75-76; by Laval Laurent in *Culture*, v (1944), 243-244; by Yvonne Lemaitre in *Le Travailleur*, November 18, 1943, page 1; by Gabriel Nadeau in *Culture*, v (1944), 307-311; by Georges Robitaille in *Le Devoir*, May 27, 1944, pages 8-9; by A. T. Volwiller in *AHR*, L (1945), 402.

- Caemmerer, H. Paul, "The Sesquicentennial of the Laying of the Cornerstone of the United States Capitol by George Washington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1942-1943*, XLIV-XLV (1944), 161-189.

Contains numerous references to the part played by L'Enfant in the planning of the city and treats also of the plans submitted for the Capitol by Stephen Hallet, a French architect.

- Kahn, Herman, "Appendix to Pierre L'Enfant's Letter to the Commissioners, May 30, 1800, with an Introductory Note," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1942-1943*, XLIV-XLV (1944), 191-213.

Unpublished material concerning the planning of the city of Washington and the circumstances surrounding L'Enfant's separation from the project.

- Brand, Robert F., "The Franco-American Press of Today," *Bulletin of the Citadel*, vii, Number 4 (1943), 3-24.

An historical sketch of French newspapers in the United States from the days of the *Courrier de Boston* (1789), to the present time.

- The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to his Family: Written from Spanish East Florida, 1791-1807, with Biographical Sketch and Notes*. Edited by Walter C. Hartridge. Columbia, S. C., Bostick and Thornley, 1943. Pages xxxiv+89.

McQueen was an American who entered the service of Spain. For letters to him from d'Estaing see page 7, and for letters from Lafayette pages 9-11.

Reviewed by Verne E. Chatelain in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xxiv (1944), 309-310.

McLeod, Walter E., "Early Lawrence County History," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, III (1944), 36-52.

Contains information (pages 36-41) about the French living along the Black River around 1800.

Cox, Isaac J., "Trailways to the Momentous Transfer," *LHQ*, XXVII (1944), 329-342.

A sketch of events leading to the Louisiana Purchase.

Muller, Edwin, "Our Lucky Louisiana Purchase," *Annals of Iowa*, XXVI (1944), 129-134.

Published also in "Vignettes of History," *Reader's Digest*, XLV (1944), 49-53.

Bornholdt, Laura, "The Abbé de Pradt and the Monroe Doctrine," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIV (1944), 201-221.

Begins with an outline of the career and political ideas of the abbé, then passes on to a study of his possible influence on Jefferson, Adams, and Monroe, and concludes that the two-spheres concept of the Monroe Doctrine was not borrowed from him.—J.M.C.

Parsons, Edward A., "The Letters of Robert R. Livingston: the Diplomatic History of the Louisiana Purchase," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S. LII, part 2 (1943), 363-407.

Lafargue, André, "Un Règne de vingt jours en Louisiane coloniale," *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine*, 1942 (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1943), pages 49-57.

Describes the administration of Pierre Clément de Laussat, who was prefect and high commissioner of France in Louisiana in 1803.

[Paris, W. Francklyn], "Robert Fulton and the Submarine," *American Society Legion of Honor Magazine*, xv (1944), 7-18.

Revision of an article entitled "Bonaparte and Robert Fulton" by Admiral Guépratte of the French Navy, which appeared in this magazine in July 1933, and now presented with new material by the editor.

Carrière, J. M. and L. G. Moffatt, "A Frenchman Visits Albemarle, 1816," *Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society*, IV (1943-1944), 39-55.

A translation of the Baron de Montlezun's detailed account of his visit to Jefferson and Monroe, with introduction and notes by the editors.

Dawson, John C., "Les Français en Alabama: Joseph Lakanal," *F Mail*, I, Number 3 (1943), pages 14-15.

An account of the American sojourn (1816-1837) of the former member of the Convention Nationale.

Dawson, John C., "The French in Alabama: the Vine and Olive Colony," *FR*, XVIII (1944), 92-95.

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Lefebvre des Noëttes, "Il y a plus de cent ans mon arrière-grandpère, le Général Lefebvre des Noëttes fondait des villes dans l'Alabama . . .," *F Mail*, 1, Number 2 (1943), pages 4-5.

McAvoy, Thomas T., "Bishop Flaget's Pastoral to the People of Detroit," *Catholic Historical Review*, xxx (1944), 28-40.

Contains valuable information on the French inhabitants of the Detroit region in the early nineteenth century.—J.M.C.

Thompson, Ray M., *The Land of Lafitte the Pirate*. New Orleans, Jefferson Parish Yearly Review, 1943. Pages 126.

Reviewed in *MVHR*, xxxi (1944), 311-312.

East, Ernest E., "The Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, xxxvii (1944), 131-163.

A list of inhabitants with biographies based on official records. Half of the population in 1825 was French or French-Indian.

*The Western Journals of Washington Irving*. Edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott. (Oklahoma University American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 8.) Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. Pages xiii + 201.

A masterly piece of editing of five extant journals kept by Washington Irving on his trip west from Cincinnati in 1832. Rich in comments on the French-speaking region of St. Louis and the Arkansas river.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by Eudora Welty in *NYTBR*, December 24, 1944, page 3.

Maloney, Alice Bay, "John Work's California Expedition of 1832-1833 for the Hudson's Bay Company," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, xxii (1943), 193-222, 323-348; xxiii (1944), 19-40, 123-146.

An important diary showing, among other things, the part played by the *coureurs de bois* in the opening of the West. Contains valuable information on Michel Laframboise, trouble-shooter for the Hudson Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest.—J.M.C.

"Louis Jolliet. The Naming of Joliet," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, xxxvii (1944), 266.

According to a printed source, the town when laid out in 1834 was named Juliet, and was known by that name until it was changed to Joliet by act of the legislature in 1845.

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*Tocqueville: De la Démocratie en Amérique*. Extracts, with a Preface by Gilbert Chinard. Princeton, For the Institut Français de Washington, 1944.

- "Bruit," "Louis Napoleon: Rejected Rumors," *American Notes & Queries*, III (1944), 163-166.

Legends connected with the visit of Louis Napoleon (afterwards Napoleon III) in New York in 1837.

- Michel Chevalier: *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord*. Extraits avec une introduction par Robert G. Mahieu. Princeton, Princeton University Press for the Institut Français de Washington, 1944. Pages xx+51.

Reprinted from the third edition (Paris, 1838). Reviewed by Arthur L. Dunham in *AHR*, L (1945), 384-385; by William F. Raney in *MVHR*, xxxi (1945), 637-638.

- Bowie, Lucy Leigh, "Madame Grelaud's French School," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, xxxix (1944), 141-148.

- Richards, Elizabeth M., "Alexandre Vattemare and his System of International Exchanges," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, xxxii (1944), 413-448.

Vattemare visited America in 1839-1841 and 1847-1850, helped found the Boston Public Library, and established an "Agence centrale des échanges internationaux."

- Rader, Perry Scott, "The Romance of the American Courts: Gaines vs. New Orleans," *LHQ*, xxvii (1944), 3-322.

Many local French personalities were involved in this *cause célèbre* and are referred to repeatedly in this study.

- Lignot-Roux, Jacqueline, "Les Souvenirs français en Californie," *Le Canada Français*, xxx (1942), 69-78.

A history of the French in California (1844-1850) at the time of the Gold Rush.

- "California Unveiled, or Irrefutable Truths Based upon Numerous Testimonies about that Part of the World by Treny. Translated from the French by Desire Fricot." *California Historical Society Quarterly*, xxiii (1944), 41-68.

A translation of a rare pamphlet published in Paris in 1850 in order to promote "La Californienne," a profit-sharing organization founded for the benefit of Frenchmen who wished to seek gold in California.

- Truesdell, Leon E., *The Canadian Born in the United States: an Analysis of the Statistics of the Canadian Element in the Population of the United States, 1850 to 1930*. New Haven, Yale University Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, 1943. Pages xvi+263.

Contains valuable information on French Canadian emigration to the United States. —J.M.C.

Reviewed by Marion Spector in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, xxxv (1944), 82-83.

- Ducharme, Jacques, *The Shadows of the Trees: the Story of French-Canadians in New England*. New York, Harper, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 196.

The author's account of this book will be found in "En marge d'un livre," *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine 1942* (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1943), pages 8-18; and in *CHR*, xxv (1944), 79-80.

- Beckman, Peter, *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877*. Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pages 168.

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- Kite, Elizabeth S., "Antoinette Margot and Clara Barton," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, LV (1944), 30-50.

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Notes on the activities of Franco-American doctors in New England from the middle of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. An interesting contribution to social history. Reprinted in *Le Travailleur*, December 14, 1944, pages 1, 4, 10; December 21, 1944, pages 1, 6.—J.M.C.

- Wegelin, Oscar, "Etienne Derbec and the Destruction of his Press at San Francisco, April 1865," *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVII (1943), 10-17.

The press of Derbec, a native of France and publisher of *L'Echo du Pacifique*, was destroyed by soldiers who suspected Derbec of anti-American feelings.

- Frazer, Robert W., "Maximilian's Propaganda Activities in the United States, 1865-1866," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIV (1944), 4-29.

- "John Singer Sargent," *American Society Legion of Honor Magazine*, XV (1944), 69-84.

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- "John La Farge," *American Society Legion of Honor Magazine*, XV (1944), 49-67.

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- Dumouchel, Antoine, "La Naissance et la fin d'une vieille société St.-Jean-Baptiste," *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine 1942* (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1943), pages 79-83.

History of a Franco-American fraternal society of North Adams, Mass.

- Holmes, Fred L., *Old World Wisconsin: around Europe in the Badger State*. Eau Claire, Wis., E. M. Hale & Co., 1944. Pages 368.

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[French, Maude Crisler], "The Last Years of Kaskaskia," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, xxxvii (1944), 229-241.

A letter written in the late 1890's describing a visit to the old French town of Kaskaskia a short time before. Contains interesting information on early landmarks.—J.M.C.

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Sketches of important Franco-American personalities of New England.

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Stinson, Madeleine, "The Leaders of French Intellectual Life—at Home and Abroad," *Modern Language Journal*, xxviii (1944), 246-254.

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A biography of Dr. Daudelin (1870-1943), who played an important part in the social and intellectual life of the Franco-American colony of Worcester, Mass.

Sylvestre, François-A., *Généalogie de Ferdinand Gagnon*. Seattle, Chez l'auteur, 1943. Pages 50 (mimeographed).

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Morize, André, "Albert Schinz (1870-1943)," *FR*, xvii (1944), 165-167.

Robert, Osmund T., "In Memoriam—Albert Schinz," *Modern Language Journal*, xxviii (1944), 522-525.

"James Brown Scott," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Washington*, xvi (1943), 6-8.

Bédard, Pierre, "Institut Français aux Etats-Unis," *F Mail*, 1, Number 9 (1944), pages 8-9.

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### 3. FOLK-LORE AND LANGUAGE

Claudel, Calvin, "French Folklore in America," *F Mail*, 1, Number 7 (1944), pages 24-25.

On the French folklore of Missouri and Louisiana.



- Claudel, Calvin, "History of the Louisiana Folklore Association," *SFQ*, viii (1944), 11-22.

Describes the activities of this society from its foundation in 1888 by Alc  e Fortier until 1896, when local interest in folklore declined and the society became inactive. An interesting contribution to the history of folklore studies in this country as well as to the biography of Fortier, a pioneer in the field of Louisiana French studies.—J.M.C.

- Claudel, Calvin, "Louisiana Creole Folk Poems," *New Mexico Quarterly Review*, xiv (1944), 84-85.

A translation of two songs from the Negro French folklore of Louisiana.

- Claudel, Calvin, "Mr. Doering's 'Songs the Cajuns Sing,'" *SFQ*, viii (1944), 123-132.

Questions the folk origin of most of the songs in Doering's collection (see *RR*, xxxv [1944], 200).

- Beck, E. C., "Ze Skunk," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, LVII (1944), 211-212.

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- Claudel, Calvin, "Translations from Louisiana French Folk Songs," *Quarterly Review of Literature*, i (1943), 29-30.

- Claudel, Calvin, "Louisiana Tales of Jean Sot and Bouqui and Lapin," *SFQ*, viii (1944), 287-299.

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- Claudel, Calvin, "The Jealous Husband: Louisiana Folk Tale Told to Calvin Claudel by Alex Melan  on of Lockport," *Southern Literary Messenger*, vi (1944), 38.

- Claudel, Calvin, and Kenneth Adams, "How Waterlilies Filled the Bayou," *Southern Literary Messenger*, vi (1944), 56.

A Louisiana French folk-tale.

- Myers, Vest C., "An Ozark Charivari," *Southern Literary Messenger*, vi (1944), 281-292.

Description of the *charivari*, a folk custom borrowed from the French of Missouri and southern Illinois and now prevalent in the Ozarks.

- Croteau, Ars  ne, "L'Histoire de l'enseignement du fran  ais aux Etats-Unis," *Bulletin de la Soci  t   historique franco-am  ricaine 1943* (Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1944), pages 6-18.

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*Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais, Années 1942-1943.* Manchester, N. H., Imprimerie Lafayette, 1944. Pages 60.

Contains an account of the activities of the Athénée Louisianais, a society devoted to the preservation of the French language in Louisiana. The *comptes rendus* were prepared by André Lafargue, President of the Athénée.

Broussard, James F., *Louisiana Creole Dialect*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1942 [i.e. 1943]. Pages xiii+134.

Reviewed by Calvin Claudel in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, LVI (1943), 302-308; by F. G. Speck, *ibid.*, pages 301-302; by Edward L. Tinker in *AL*, xv (1943), 205-207; by Gabriel La Rue in *Relations*, III (1943), 194-195.

"The Bloody Saline of the Salt River Country." *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1944), 203-207.

Explains the origin of "La Saline Ensanglantée" or "Bloody Saline" near Hannibal, Missouri.

#### 4. FRENCH>AMERICAN INFLUENCES

Frenz, Horst, "American Literature and World Literature," *CLNL*, February 1944, pages 4-6.

Curti, Merle, *The Growth of American Thought*. New York, Harper, 1944. Pages xx+848.

Reviewed by William Peden in *Maryland Quarterly*, Number 2 (1944), 84-85; by Herbert W. Schneider in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v (1944), 243-249; by J. H. Shera in *Library Quarterly*, xiv (1944), 250-252; by Harvey Wish in *American Journal of Sociology*, I. (1944), 72.

*The Complete Jefferson, Containing his Major Writings, Published and Unpublished.* Assembled and Arranged by Saul K. Padover. New York, Duell Sloan & Pearce, 1943. Pages xii+1322.

Contains material on Jefferson's sojourn in France.

Reviewed by Julian P. Boyd in *NYTBR*, January 2, 1944, page 5.

*Thomas Jefferson: Basic Writings.* Edited by Philip S. Foner. New York, Willey Book Co., 1944. Pages xviii+816.

*The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited, and with an Introduction, by Adrienne Koch and William Peden. New York, The Modern Library, 1944. Pages xlv+730.

Contains much material bearing upon Jefferson and France, particularly (pages 366-493) many letters written while Jefferson was in France, 1784-1789.

*Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766-1824. With Relevant Extracts from his Other Writings.* Annotated by Edwin Morris Betts. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, xxii). Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1944. Pages xiv+704.

This exhaustive study of Jefferson's interest in botany is at the same time a major con-

tribution to the history of his scientific interests. It contains many published and unpublished letters exchanged between Jefferson and French plant collectors and botanists.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by J. G. D. Paul in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL (1945) 71-72; by J.B.H. in *AL*, XVI (1945), 361; by Charles T. Harrison in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, II (1945), 104-106.

Chinard, Gilbert, "Jefferson among the Philosophers," *Ethics*, LIII (1943), 255-268.

Lerch, Alice H., "Who was the Printer of Jefferson's Notes?" in *Bookmen's Holiday: Notes and Studies Written and Gathered in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg* (New York, New York Public Library, 1943), pages 44-56.

Concludes that the *Notes* were printed by Philippe-Denis Pierre.

Koch, Adrienne, *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. Cf. *RR*, XXXV (1944), 200-201.

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*Thomas Paine: Representative Selections*. With Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes, by Harry Hayden Clark. (American Writers Series). New York, American Book Company, 1944. Pages clii+436.

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Dorfinan, Joseph, "Joel Barlow: Trafficker in Trade and Letters," *Political Science Quarterly*, LIX (1944), 83-100.

Deals with Barlow's activities in France, his translation of the *Nouveau Voyage* [en Amérique], 1791, of Brissot de Warville and Etienne Clavière, and the effect of physiocratic thought on Barlow as seen in his *Advice to the Privileged Orders*, 1792-1793.

Haviland, Thomas P., "Préciosité Crosses the Atlantic," *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 131-141.

On the popularity of the French heroic romances in America and their influence on the work of William Hill Brown and Charles Brockden Brown.

Fess, G. M., "Catharine Sedgwick and Crèvecoeur," *AL*, XV (1944), 420-421.

Shows that Miss Sedgwick's story, "Romance in Real Life" (published in the gift-book *The Legendary*, 1828) is based on the experiences of Crèvecoeur and his children at the end of the American Revolution.

Spiker, Claude C., "The North American Review and French Morals," *West Virginia University Bulletin, Philological Studies*, iv, series 44 (1943), pages 3-14.

L., E., "From the French," *NQ*, CLXXXVII (1944), 197.

Suggests one of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* as the source of a quatrain by Emerson.

Johnson, Carl L., *Professor Longfellow of Harvard*. (University of Oregon Monographs: Literature and Philology, 5). Eugene, University of Oregon Press, 1944. Pages xii + 112.

Of importance for the history of the teaching of French at Harvard during the nineteenth century.

Reviewed by Henry Grattan Doyle in *Hispania*, xxvii (1944), 320-329; in *AL*, xvi (1944), 260-261; by George F. Whicher in *NEQ*, xviii (1945), 117-118.

Goffin, Robert, "Evangeline and Belgium," *Belgium*, v (1944), 207-208.

On the French and Belgian associations of St. Martinville, Louisiana.

Bernard, L. L. and Jessie Bernard, *Origins of American Sociology: the Social Science Movement in the United States*. New York, Crowell, 1943. Pages xiv + 866.

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Price, Robert, "A Critical Biography of Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood: a Study of Middle Western Regional Authorship, 1847-1902," *Abstracts of Dissertations . . . Ohio State University . . . 1943* (Columbus, Ohio, 1944), pages 123-129.

Contains valuable information on Mrs. Catherwood, who borrowed the themes of several of her books from the history of the French in the Middle West.—J.M.C.

"Missouri Miniatures: Kate Chopin," *Missouri Historical Review*, xxxviii (1944), 207-208.

A brief sketch of the writer who described the folk of the Louisiana bayou region.

Baym, Max I., "Henry Adams and Henry Vignaud," *NEQ*, xvii (1944), 442-449.

Unpublished correspondence between Adams and Vignaud (1880-1898) concerning documents in the French Archives which Adams desired for his *History of the United States*.

Flanagan, John T., "The Middle Western Historical Novel," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, xxxvii (1944), 7-47.

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Salvan, Albert J., *Zola aux Etats-Unis*. Providence, Brown University, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 201.

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Marchand, Ernest, *Frank Norris: a Study*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1942. Cf. *RR*, xxxiv (1943), 171.

Reviewed by Bradford A. Booth in *MLQ*, v (1944), 246-247; by Willard E. Martin, Jr. in *MLN*, lix (1944), 434.

Hornberger, Theodore, "The Effect of Painting on the Fiction of F. Hopkinson Smith (1835-1915)," *University of Texas . . . Studies in English*, 1943, pages 162-192.

Hornberger, Theodore, "Painters and Painting in the Writings of F. Hopkinson Smith," *AL*, xvi (1944), 1-10.

Deals with Smith's fondness for Corot and Millet (pages 7-10).

Hurd, Willis E., "Jules Verne," *F Mail*, I, Number 9 (1944), pages 14-15.

Personal souvenirs of Verne and an account of the founding of the American Jules Verne Society.

Isaacs, Edith J. R., and Rosamond Gilder, "An International Theatre: Made in America," *Theatre Arts*, xxviii (1944), 451-486.

For the history of the French stage in New Orleans, Charleston, and New York see the section entitled "Gallic Fire: the French Theatre in America" (pages 457-464).

Dickinson, Mary Virginia, "The Plays of Edmond Rostand on the American Professional Stage," *Abstracts of Theses . . . 1942-1943*, *University of Washington* (Seattle, 1944), pages 7-8.

Green, Julian. *Memories of Happy Days*. London, Dent, 1944. Pages 216. Cf. *RR*, xxxiv (1943), 170.

Reviewed by Lettice Fowler in *Spectator*, July 21, 1944, page 62; by John Russell in *Time and Tide*, August 26, 1944, page 749; by Edward Sackville West in *New Statesman and Nation*, August 5, 1944, page 94; in *TLS*, July 29, 1944, page 363.

Perlès, Alfred, "Henry Miller in Villa Seurat (an Incomplete Portrait)," *Life and Letters To-day*, xli (1944), 148-156.

##### 5. AMERICAN > FRENCH INFLUENCES

Allen, Gay Wilson, "Walt Whitman in Comparative Literature," *CLNL*, December 1943, pages 4-5.

A survey of scholarship.

Laporte, Paul M., "Cézanne and Whitman," *Magazine of Art*, xxxvii (1944), 223-227.

*The Journal of Madame Giovanni*: by *Alexandre Dumas*. Translated from the French by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. New York, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1944. Pages xxxi+404.

Includes material dealing with California in 1851. From the wealth of realistic detail it would seem that Dumas worked from an eyewitness's account.—J.M.C.

Reviewed by Nona Balakian in *NYTBR*, January 30, 1944, page 7; by Bradford A. Booth in *Pacific Historical Review*, xiii (1944), 205-206.

Munro, Douglas, "Journal of Marie Giovanni," *TLS*, June 17, 1944, page 300.

Believes that Madame Giovanni's notes "were much more voluminous than any we now possess in French, German, or Danish, and that Dumas abridged or expanded as the fancy took him."

Corrigan, Beatrice, "Henri-Emile Chevalier and his Novels of North America," *RR*, xxxv (1944), 220-231.

Tannenbaum, Libby, "The Raven Abroad: Some European Illustrators of the Work of Edgar Allan Poe," *Magazine of Art*, xxxvii (1944), 123-127.

Reproduces some interesting French illustrations.

Gilman, Margaret, *Baudelaire the Critic*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. Cf. *RR*, xxxv (1944), 202.

Reviewed by Warren P. Carrier in *MLQ*, vi (1945), 123; by Enid Starkie in *MLR*, xxxix (1944), 81-82.

Morgan, Edwin, *Flower of Evil: a Life of Charles Baudelaire*. London, Sheed & Ward, 1944. Pages 156.

Published in New York in 1943 (cf. *RR*, xxxv [1944] 202).

Reviewed by Pierre Courtines in *America*, lxx (1943), 333; by Richard Parker in *FR*, xviii (1944), 120-121; by A. M. Sullivan in *Spirit*, xi (1944), 28-29.

Jones, P. Mansell, "Poe, Baudelaire and Mallarmé: a Problem of Literary Judgement," *MLR*, xxxix (1944), 236-246.

A re-examination of the question of Poe's influence, with criticism of earlier scholarship.

Frenz, Horst, "A List of Foreign Editions and Translations of Eugene O'Neill's Dramas," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, xviii (1943), 33-34.

Frenz, Horst, "Eugene O'Neill's Plays Printed Abroad," *College English*, v (1944), 340-341.

Steel, Eric M., "The French Writer Looks at America," *Antioch Review*, iv (1944), 414-431.

# FRANCO-GERMAN STUDIES

## A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS IS THE FIRST annual survey of books, articles, and reviews dealing with Franco-German literary relations, which has been compiled by members of the Research and Bibliography Committee of the Comparative Literature VII group (Franco-German Literary Relations) of the Modern Language Association of America. When continental conditions permit, subsequent annual digests will include material from England, France, and Germany. Unless otherwise indicated, all items are for 1944. Corrections, additions, and new items will be welcomed.

As a supplement to this initial survey we add a list of American doctoral dissertations in the field (1897-1943) and a record of work in progress.

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### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FR	FRENCH REVIEW	MLJ	MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL
GR	GERMANIC REVIEW	MLQ	MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY
JEGP	JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY	PMLA	PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
MDU	MONATSHFTE FÜR DEUTSCHEN UNTERRICHT		

[Anon.], "Missouriana: The Singing School," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 325-330.

Notes on earliest English, French, and German folksongs and singing schools in Missouri. Calls attention to centuries-old French melodies in St. François and Ste. Genevieve counties, and to German melodies dating from the mid-eighteenth century.

Benson, Adolph B., "Gustavus Vasa on the Foreign Stage. An Addition and List of Operas by European Composers," *Scandinavian Studies*, XVIII, 115-119.

Contains additions to a previous article on Gustavus Vasa on the American stage, lists and comments on non-Swedish and non-American operas dealing with this Swedish monarch, among them three German and one French-Italian.

Feise, Ernst, "Quellen zu Goethes *Lila* und *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*," *GR*, XIX, 36-47.

1. Other members of the committee are: Joseph M. Carrière, Kenneth N. Douglas, Lawrence M. Price, Flora E. Ross, Howard E. Yarnall, Edwin H. Zeydel.



When writing *Lila*, Goethe drew upon his personal experiences with Frau von Stein and borrowed details from Rotrou's *L'Hypochondriaque, ou le Mort Amoureux, Tragi-Comédie* (1629). As for *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*, the author is indebted in large measure to Marmontel's *Le Mari Sylphe*, a story in *Contes Moraux* (1761). Plot, characters, and language are very similar in the French story and the German play. However, Goethe's work is marked by a depth of psychological insight totally absent from the French original.

Fernberg, Babeth B., *Treatment of Jewish Character in the Twentieth Century Novel (1900-1940) of France, Germany, England, and the United States*. (Unpublished dissertation, 649 typescript pages, bibliography pages 581-649. It is available on inter-library loan. Cf. *Abstracts of Dissertations, Stanford University*, XIX [1943-1944] pages 35-41.)

This valuable study is based on an examination of more than 250 novels by Jewish and non-Jewish authors and on critical and periodical literature. Part I takes up the historical and literary background of the Jews in the four countries, and the treatment of Jewish character in the 19th-century novel. Part II discusses the portrayal of Jewish characters in the novels of the 20th century in the light of their length of residence, political leanings, occupation, and religious affiliations. Part III deals with the 20th-century novelist as social historian, and the differences in attitude and tone between Jewish and non-Jewish writers. Part IV contrasts the treatment of the Jew in the novels of the 19th and of the 20th centuries.

Kraus, Michael, "Literary Relations Between Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly. A Magazine of Early American History, Institutions, and Culture*, I, 210-234.

Clarifying survey, invaluable bibliography, indirectly touches on literary points of contact between France and Germany.

LeSage, Laurence, "Jean Giraudoux's Case Against Germany," *FR*, XVII, 353-357.

A brilliant and gay satire of modern Germany is to be found in several of Giraudoux's works, particularly in *Siegfried et le Limousin* and *Suzanne et le Pacifique*. This satire can be interpreted as revenge for the bitter disappointment which the novelist experienced when he first visited Germany and realized that the great human and poetic nation which he had previously imagined no longer existed except in his mind. In her lust for world conquest, Germany has betrayed her mission in the world, and her present ambitions will lead her to disaster, Giraudoux prophesies.

McClain, William H., "Goethe as Romain Rolland's *Compagnon de route*," *GR*, XIX, 269-283.

Points out the spiritual and intellectual contacts between Goethe and Rolland and traces Goethe's contribution to Rolland's development as a social thinker. The article discusses: first, Rolland's comparison of Christophe's serene outlook in his later years to that of the Goethe of 1813; second, Rolland's letter to G. Hauptmann in 1914, recalling Goethe's repudiation of hatred among nations; third, Rolland's indirect criticism of Goethe's indifference to political and social upheavals; fourth, Rolland's reference to Goethe as a precursor of Lenin.

The above article is a summary of the author's dissertation, "Goethe as a Factor in Romain Rolland's Development as Social Thinker" (Unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1943, 167 typescript pages, cf. *Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, University of Wisconsin*, VIII [1944], 214-215).



- Michael, Hadassah P., *Original Elements in the French and German Passion Plays. A Study of the Passion Scenes*. (Unpublished dissertation, 153 typescript pages, bibliography pages 149-153. This thesis is to be printed). Bryn Mawr.

This is a judicious comparison of four different scenes from French and German Passion plays before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Chapter I, "The Trial," compares the French with the German version of the scene. The same method is applied in Chapter II, "The Road to Calvary," Chapter III, "The Crucifixion," and Chapter IV, "The Deposition and Entombment." In the summarizing chapter the author negates Wilmotte's theory of a common dramatic course. The marked variations in the Passion scenes in both countries are attributed to differences in temperament and dramatic development. Thus, the German scenes are more religious and the French more worldly.

- Nitze, William A., "Goethe and Ronsard," *PMLA*, LIX, 486-490.

Acknowledging indebtedness to a suggestion made by the late K. Meyer, the author shows the resemblance between Ronsard's sonnet (*mignongne, levés-vous . . . xxiii: Continuation des Amours*) addressed to Marie, a simple country girl, and Goethe's love lyric to Friedericke (*Erwache Friedericke . . .*).

- Price, Lawrence Marsden, "The Vogue of Marmontel on the German Stage," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, xxvii, Number 2, 27-124, frontispiece.

The purpose of this monograph is to give a picture of the part which twelve of Marmontel's *contes* (plus two others used indirectly by Stephanie, the Younger), six operettas, and his two theatrical novels, *Bélisaire* and *Les Incas*, played in German theatrical literature, especially during the decade of 1770. This purpose is achieved; Price's few omissions are not important and do not affect his conclusions.

Reviewed by Fernand Baldensperger in *MLJ*, xxviii, 630-631; by Edwin H. Zeydel in *MDU*, xxxvi, 383-384; by Ralph P. Rosenberg in *GR*, xx (1945), 73-76.

- Rose, Ernst, "Two German Translations of Louïze Labé's Second Sonnet," *MLQ*, v, 183-191.

The translations are by Rilke and Binding. Poets of Labé's time (1555) were either Petrarchists, who limited love poems to a few fixed situations, and dealt with thwarted physical passion, or else they were Platonists who conceived of love as a spiritual force. The sonnets of the Petrarchists were carefully calculated, well-balanced architectural structures. Louïze Labé, by such definition, was a Petrarchist. The much admired version of Rilke is not Petrarchesque but slightly baroque and decidedly *rilkish*. It is not a translation, hardly even an *Übertragung*. Binding's version, on the other hand, adheres to the content of the original and takes cognizance of its architectural form.

- Walz, John A., "Some New *Faustsplitter*," *JEGP*, XLIII, 153-162.

This contains a reference (Cf. pages 159, 161-162) to a French *Faustsplitter* of 1617, which supposedly is from the Spanish of the Augustinian monk, Valderama. However, this Spanish original was essentially a translation from the Italian of Cicogna (1605).

- Zeydel, Edwin H., "An Unpublished Note of Goethe," *JEGP*, XLIII, 380-383.

Reproduces and interprets the contents of a short, unpublished letter (dated May 11, 1827) by Goethe, probably written to Frédéric Stapfer. Also contains important bibliographic and biographic corrections and additions.

- Zeydel, Edwin H., "The Concepts "Classic" and "Romantic": Some Fundamental Observations," *GR*, xix, 161-169.

Calls attention to the wide discrepancies between the terms "classic" and "romantic" in English literature, Romance letters, and German criticism; presents succinctly a more uniform and consistent nomenclature; recommends a broader and extensive use of these two terms as a common denominator in comparative literature.

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2. Acknowledgment of indebtedness is due Professor A. Schirokauer of Yale University for several items in this list.

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## FLAUBERT HISTORIEN DES HÉRÉSIES, DANS LA TENTATION

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APRÈS AVOIR SUBI LA TENTATION DES PÉCHÉS CAPITALS, couronnée par la visite de la reine de Saba, Saint Antoine reste seul avec Hilarion, son ancien disciple.

Par quelques réflexions insidieuses, Hilarion—personnification satanique de la Science—conduit le pauvre ermite au seuil d'une autre tentation, plus dangereuse encore.

Il commence par mettre en doute la vertu de la souffrance et l'utilité des mortifications. *Comprendre* Dieu, dit-il, est autrement difficile, et méritoire, que de s'infliger des pénitences corporelles.

Pour comprendre Dieu, Antoine s'imagine que l'Écriture suffit. Mais l'Ancien Testament fourmille d'obscurités; le Nouveau Testament lui-même est plein de contradictions. Après avoir éveillé l'inquiétude et la curiosité d'Antoine, Hilarion lui propose d'assouvir sa *libido sciendi*, et de lui révéler le secret des choses divines.

Il accepte; et soudain il se trouve dans une immense basilique, où s'agite une foule bigarrée. Ce sont les Hérésiarques: Manichéens, Marcionites, Valentiniens, Basilidiens, Montanistes, cinquante autres sectes y disputent avec fureur. La Création, les rapports de l'âme et du corps, la nature du Verbe, la personne de Jésus . . . tous les systèmes et tous les dogmes s'affrontent dans un tumulte vertigineux, chacun apportant ses preuves, ses arguments, ses textes.

Puis Antoine se voit transporté dans une chambre basse; on y célèbre un office religieux, qui s'achève par une abominable Eucharistie: c'est la chapelle des Ophites, les adorateurs du Serpent.

La scène change: Antoine est maintenant dans une prison où des martyrs chrétiens attendent d'être livrés aux bêtes, et sentent vaciller leur courage. Puis c'est un cimetière, la nuit . . . D'autres chrétiens, venus pour honorer les restes des martyrs, s'égarent dans les libations et les étreintes . . .

Nous sommes à présent dans une forêt de l'Inde. Antoine y voit un gymnosophe y pratiquer ses austérités effroyables, et l'entend prêcher la vérité suprême: le repos du nirvana.

Enfin, deux voyageurs se présentent: le faux prophète Simon de Samarie, et sa compagne, Hélène-Ennoia. Ils terrifient Antoine par leurs discours étranges, jusqu'au moment où, resté seul de nouveau, il s'écrie éperdu: "Où suis-je? J'ai peur de tomber dans l'abîme . . . Ah! quelle nuit! quelle nuit!"

Cet épisode paraît avoir, jusqu'à ce jour, déconcerté et rebuté la plupart des critiques. Thibaudet, qui résume l'opinion générale, le considère comme fastidieux. "Faite à coups de livres," dit-il, "c'est la partie la plus morte de l'œuvre."<sup>1</sup> Cette sentence sommaire mérite d'être révisée, ou, tout au moins, mieux motivée.

D'abord, l'épisode forme à lui seul le quart de la *Tentation*,<sup>2</sup> et il y occupe une place centrale; dans la pensée de Flaubert, il était évidemment capital: à ce seul titre, il mérite un patient examen. Dire, d'autre part, qu'il a été "fait à coups de livres" ne prouve rien *a priori*: car toute la *Tentation*, de la première ligne à la dernière, est faite de cette façon. Encore vaudrait-il la peine de rechercher de quels livres s'est servi Flaubert, et comment il s'en est servi. Peut-être cette enquête nous révélerait-elle l'intérêt profond de l'épisode et sa véritable portée.

Il faut, une fois de plus, se reporter à la liste bibliographique dressée par Flaubert lui-même en 1872. Sous la rubrique *Hérésies* (pages 296-298) et sous la rubrique *Christianisme (exégèse)* (pages 288-293), on y trouve, pêle-mêle, les ouvrages où il a cherché des renseignements sur les querelles dogmatiques aux premiers siècles de l'Eglise.

Ces ouvrages, dont l'énumération tient près de dix pages, sont d'une diversité déconcertante. Il y a le *Pédagogue* de Clément d'Alexandrie et la *Vie de Jésus* de Strauss; Gibbon<sup>3</sup> et la *Légende Dorée*; Saint-Nil et Voltaire.<sup>4</sup> Il faut d'abord classer tout ce fatras. Flaubert, naturellement, devait s'orienter dans cette période confuse de l'histoire ecclésiastique. Il a consulté:

Les *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, de Le Nain de Tillemont, 1693-1712 (les tomes VII et VIII);

La colossale *Histoire ecclésiastique depuis la naissance de Jésus-Christ*, de l'abbé Fleury, 1691 (le premier volume);

*Jésus-Christ et sa doctrine*, de J. Salvador, 1838.

Mais, comme nous le verrons, les guides qu'il a suivis pas à pas sont:

*L'Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, d'Isaac de Beausobre, 1734-1739;

*L'Histoire critique du Gnosticisme et de son influence sur les sectes religieuses et philosophiques dans les six premiers siècles*, de Jacques Matter, 1828;

1. Gustave Flaubert, 1922, pp. 200 et 204.

2. Pp. 50-95 de l'édition Conard.

3. *Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire romain*, traduction Guizot, 1812. Flaubert précise: Ch. xv; le chapitre xv contient en effet des renseignements (sommaires) sur les sectes chrétiennes des premiers siècles.

4. Flaubert précise: *Questions théologiques*. S'agit-il des *Questions de Zapata*? des *Questions proposées à qui voudra les résoudre*? En réalité, c'est dans l'*Examen important de Lord Bolingbroke* qu'il eût trouvé un long exposé sur les Hérésies (cap. XVI-XXXI): "Des dogmes et de la métaphysique chrétienne des premiers siècles."

auxquelles il faut joindre:

*L'Histoire critique de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, d'Etienne Vacherot, 1846-1851.

Mais Flaubert, nous le savons de reste, ne se contente pas d'une documentation de seconde main; il remonte aux sources. Et il y était remonté dès l'époque où il préparait sa première *Tentation*, celle de 1849. "Il avait plongé aux origines mêmes; il lisait les Pères de l'Eglise, compulsait la collection des Actes des Conciles par les Pères Labbé et Cossart . . ." Maxime du Camp, qui nous rapporte ces détails,<sup>5</sup> ajoute dédaigneusement que son ami "s'égarait au milieu de lectures excessives, dont il eût trouvé un résumé suffisant dans le *Dictionnaire des Hérésies* et dans la *Légende Dorée*."

De fait, Flaubert a lu la *Légende Dorée*;<sup>6</sup> et il a consulté le *Dictionnaire des Hérésies* de l'abbé Pluquet;<sup>7</sup> mais il n'a point jugé cela "suffisant."

On trouve dans sa liste:

Saint Clément, les *Recognitiones* (apocryphes); Tertullien, l'*Apolo-gétique* et les *Prescriptions*; Saint Epiphane, *Contre les quatre-vingt Hérésies*; Saint Augustin, la *Cité de Dieu*, les *Hérésies*, la *Foi*, l'*Espérance* et la *Charité*;<sup>8</sup> Eusèbe, la *Préparation évangélique*.

On y trouve aussi trois recueils de textes:

*L'Histoire de l'Eglise* de L. Cousin, 1675, où sont réunies des traductions d'Eusèbe, de Théodoret, etc.;

*Le Spicilegium SS. Patrum, ut et haereticorum saeculi post Christum natum* I, II et III, de J. E. Grabius, 1698;

*Le Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, ou Collection de tous les livres apocryphes relatifs à l'Ancien ou au Nouveau Testament*, de Migne, 1856-1858.

Ces livres forment le fond de sa documentation. Il ne semble pas qu'il les ait choisis avec beaucoup d'ordre et de critique; il perdait beaucoup de temps à s'informer, précisément parce qu'il tâtonnait;<sup>9</sup> on a l'impression qu'il passe d'un auteur à l'autre, au hasard de ses lectures: ainsi, c'est probablement Vacherot qui l'a renvoyé à Matter; Matter, à son tour, le renvoie à Beausobre; et Beausobre lui signale l'article MANICHÉENS dans le *Dictionnaire* de Bayle, article qui figure également dans sa liste bibliographique. Mais à défaut d'une méthode sûre, Flaubert possède une conscience exigeante. Dès l'origine, il faut le

5. *Souvenirs littéraires*, 1883, I, 329-330.

6. Cf. *supra*.

7. *Dictionnaire des Hérésies, des Erreurs et des Schismes, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des égarements de l'Esprit humain par rapport à la religion chrétienne*, nouvelle édition, 1845. La première édition est de 1762.

8. "Quand on a avalé du Saint Augustin autant que moi, écrit Flaubert à Louise Colet le 2 juillet 1853 (n° 405 de l'édition Conard), on a la constitution robuste à l'égard des lectures embêtantes."

9. Cf. Anatole France, "Les idées de Gustave Flaubert," dans la *Vie littéraire*, III, 307.

répéter, il avait absorbé tous les ouvrages essentiels qui lui étaient accessibles.<sup>10</sup>

Dans l'intervalle de vingt-cinq ans qui sépare la première version de la version définitive, il complète sa bibliographie et la met à jour. Sa liste contient un grand nombre de livres et d'articles publiés pendant cette période. Je cite les principaux :

E. Reuss, *Histoire de la Théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 1852;  
P. Larroque, *Examen critique des doctrines de la religion chrétienne*, 1860;

E. Haag, *Histoire des dogmes chrétiens*, 1862;

D. Strauss, *Vie de Jésus*, 1862;

E. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 1863; *les Apôtres*, 1866; *Saint Paul*, 1869;

M. Nicolas, *Etudes sur les Évangiles apocryphes*, 1865;

A. Réville, *Histoire du dogme de la divinité de Jésus*, 1869.

De ce même Réville, Flaubert a lu deux articles, qu'il cite : "Tertulien," *Revue de Théologie*, 1855; "Saint Irénée et les gnostiques de son temps," *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, LV, 1865, 998-1032. Il en a même lu un troisième, qu'il ne cite pas : "Tertullien et le Montanisme," *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, LIV, 1864, 166-199.

Toutefois, de tous ces travaux modernes, il ne semble pas qu'il ait retiré grand'chose, si l'on excepte les articles de Réville, auxquels nous reviendrons.

La *Correspondance* fournit quelques indications intéressantes sur les dates auxquelles il a repris et remanié cette partie théologique de la *Tentation*.

Il avait tiré Saint Antoine de ses cartons en 1856. Le 9 septembre, il écrit à Bouilhet : "Je suis à analyser deux énormes volumes sur les Hérésies."<sup>11</sup> M. Pantke pense qu'il s'agit là d'une lecture nouvelle;<sup>12</sup> mais, selon toute probabilité, Flaubert est simplement en train de relire l'*Histoire de Manichée* de Beausobre, et de la retravailler. De même, plus tard, en 1869, lorsqu'il se remet à l'œuvre pour la troisième fois, il recommence à "se perdre dans les Pères de l'Eglise";<sup>13</sup> et il écrit à George Sand qu'il "dévore les *Mémoires ecclésiastiques* de Le Nain de Tillemont";<sup>14</sup> ici encore il s'agit, selon toute apparence, d'une seconde lecture. En même temps, il est vrai, Flaubert lit le *Saint Paul* de Renan, qui vient de paraître.

10. Le *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* de Migne n'avait pas encore paru; les deux premiers volumes de Vacherot avaient paru en 1846.

11. N° 493.

12. A. Pantke, *Gustave Flauberts Tentation de Saint Antoine, Ein Vergleich der drei Fassungen*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 87.

13. A la princesse Mathilde, juin 1869 (n° 1025).

14. Fin juin 1869 (n° 1029).

Le 6 janvier 1870, il est à Paris; il emprunte lui-même à la Bibliothèque Impériale les œuvres de Saint Epiphane: *Sancti Epiphanii Opera omnia* . . . *Dionysius Petavius recensuit, latine vertit*, Cologne, 1628; il rend l'ouvrage le 10 mars.<sup>15</sup> Or, pour qui connaît la première version, il est évident qu'il avait déjà lu Saint Epiphane, et de très près, vingt ans auparavant.

C'est en 1871 seulement, après l'interruption de la guerre, qu'il rédigera l'épisode sous sa forme définitive. "Si rien ne me dérange," confie-t-il à sa nièce le 5 avril, j'aurai fini les *Hérésies* à la fin de ce mois" . . .<sup>16</sup>

Je voudrais examiner comment Flaubert a tiré parti de ses lectures; cela n'est pas facile, car il n'est pas toujours possible de savoir au juste où il a puisé. Ses auteurs se copient ou se répètent: comment déterminer à coup sûr qu'il a utilisé le texte original, une paraphrase, ou une citation? Seule une analyse attentive permet de discerner la ou les sources véritables. J'en citerai ici un exemple.

Flaubert nous présente (pages 72-73), parmi les hérétiques carpocratians, une femme, Marcellina; et il lui fait dire: ". . . Autrefois, j'étais diaconesse à Rome dans une petite église, où je faisais voir aux fidèles les images en argent de Saint Paul, d'Homère, de Pythagore et de Jésus-Christ."

Matter rapporte quelque chose de semblable:

Les Carpocratians, écrit-il,<sup>17</sup> professèrent une grande vénération pour les images de Zoroastre, de Pythagore . . . et de Jésus-Christ. "Chez les gnostiques," dit Saint Irénée, "on avait des images, les unes peintes, les autres exécutées avec d'autres matières, qui représentaient le Christ. . . Ils couronnaient ces figures, et les proposaient avec les portraits des philosophes du monde, c'est-à-dire ceux de Pythagore, de Platon, d'Aristote et des autres; et ils les vénéraient comme font les païens." A ces personnages ils ajoutaient ceux de Saint Paul et d'Homère.

Mais remontons aux textes, comme Flaubert n'a pas manqué de le faire. Chez Saint Augustin,<sup>18</sup> nous retrouvons Marcellina; nous retrouvons aussi les quatre noms choisis par Flaubert: "Sectae ipsius fuisse traditur quaedam *Marcellina*, quae colebat imagines *Jesu* et *Pauli* et *Homeri* et *Pythagorae*, adorando incensumque ponendo . . ."

Cependant, ni Matter, ni Saint Augustin ne parlent d'images *en argent*. Ce détail est seulement chez Saint Epiphane:<sup>19</sup>

15. R. Descharmes, *Autour de Bouvard et Pécuchet*, 1921, Appendice: "Les emprunts de Flaubert à la Bibliothèque Nationale et à la Bibliothèque de Rouen de 1870 à 1880."

16. P. 1166. Cf. lettre à Mme Roger des Genettes, juillet 1871 (n° 1194): "Saint Antoine vous salue très humblement. Le brave homme, après avoir eu la boule dérangée par le spectacle des *Hérésies*," etc.

17. II, 183 et 437-438.

18. *De Haeresibus*, VII.

19. *Haeres.*, XXVII, 107-108.

Marcellina illa Romam veniens, et Carpocratianae doctrinae virus evomens, multos illic errore suo depravatos in exitum impulit. Habent porro Carpocratiani depictas coloribus imagines, quidam etiam aureas aut *argenteas*, quas esse Jesu effigies affirmant. . . . Sic ejusmodi imagines occultas habent, necnon et philosophorum quorundam, ut Pythagorae, Platonis, Aristotelis aliorumque . . .

Ainsi donc, selon toute apparence, Flaubert combine ici Saint Epiphane et Saint Augustin.<sup>20</sup>

Il ne faut pas s'exagérer, d'ailleurs, les difficultés de ce genre d'analyse; on dispose d'un fil conducteur. Flaubert, nous venons de le voir, cherche le détail concret: c'est ce détail qui le trahit, c'est-à-dire qui révèle sa source. Si l'on est bien persuadé qu'il a une autorité pour chaque détail, on est sûr de retrouver, tôt ou tard, le texte précis dont il s'est inspiré. Bien entendu, plus le détail est insolite, plus la source est aisée à identifier.

Ainsi, Manès déclare (page 53): "Le meurtrier renaîtra dans le corps d'un *céléphe* . . ." Ce terme étrange, qui désigne un lépreux, se trouve chez Beausobre:<sup>21</sup> "Selon Manichée, l'âme d'un meurtrier passe dans le corps d'un *céléphe*"; et Beausobre lui-même traduit littéralement Saint Epiphane:<sup>22</sup> "Qui hominem occiderit . . . in celephi corpus demigrat." "Le but de toute créature (déclare encore Manès) est la délivrance du rayon céleste enfermé dans la matière. Il s'en échappe plus facilement par . . . l'arôme du *vin cuit* . . ."

Cette fois, ce détail singulier vient de Saint Augustin, cité par Beausobre:<sup>23</sup> "A l'égard de leur boisson [des élus Manichéens], Saint Augustin témoigne qu'ils buvoient du *vin cuit*, que ce Père appelle *caroenum*."<sup>24</sup>

Un dernier exemple. Comme les hérésiarques discutent des origines de Jésus, un Juif s'avance, et s'écrie (page 70): "Son âme était celle d'Esäü! Il souffrait de la maladie bellérophontienne; et sa mère, la parfumeuse, s'est livrée à Pantherus, un soldat romain . . ."

C'est encore Beausobre qui a fourni les deux premiers détails: "Oserai-je mettre ici, [dit-il],<sup>25</sup> l'horrible blasphème que des Juifs profanes avançaient contre le Sauveur? Ils disent que l'âme de Jésus était celle d'Esäü, et que le Seigneur avait la maladie que l'on nomme Bellerophon-teus morbus, ce qui l'obligeait à fuir la société."

20. Pour être complet, je mentionnerai que plusieurs auteurs, qui figurent dans sa liste, ont pu guider Flaubert vers ces deux sources. Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*, parle (p. 259) de l'origine gnostique des premiers portraits du Christ, et traduit (p. 264) le passage de Saint Augustin. Didron, *Histoire de Dieu*, cite (p. 249) un passage de ce même Raoul-Rochette où sont invoqués les témoignages d'Irénée, d'Epiphane et d'Augustin. Enfin, les textes des Pères sont cités dans le *De forma Christi*, du P. François Vavasseur, 1649.

21. II, 496.

22. *Haeres.*, LXVI, 626.

23. II, 774. Cf. Saint Augustin, *Contra Faustum*, xvi.

24. Dans la première version (p. 258), Flaubert avait écrit, au lieu de: *l'arôme du vin cuit*, *le fumet du caroenum*.

25. II, 492. La "maladie bellérophontienne" est la mélancolie.



L'histoire de Pantherus vient d'Origène:<sup>26</sup> "Jam revertamur ad Judaei fictam personam, quae narrat Jesu matrem gravidam extrusam a sponso fabro lignario propter fidem conjugalem temeratam et pudicitiam, et ex milite, cujus nomen sit Panthera, peperisse . . ."

Reste le détail: *la parfumeuse*. Flaubert, apparemment, l'a trouvé dans une note de Salvador,<sup>27</sup> qui mentionne "un écrit juif pamphlétaire où Marie est décrite comme adonnée par profession à la coiffure des femmes."

La détermination précise des sources n'est donc pas impossible; et, le plus souvent, ce sont les singularités du texte qui nous mettent sur la voie.

Ce point étant réglé, voyons comment Flaubert a mis en œuvre sa documentation.

La plupart des Hérésies qui pullulent dans la *Tentation* sont des hérésies gnostiques. En fait, s'il faut en croire Renan,<sup>28</sup> certains critiques prétendirent que Flaubert "avait voulu écrire une histoire du gnosticisme," et déclarèrent qu' "un bon précis aurait mieux valu." La Gnose, comme on sait, prétend révéler à ses initiés le secret même que voudrait déchiffrer Saint Antoine: la *connaissance*, l'explication dernière du divin. Et les gnostiques, malgré l'extrême diversité de leurs écoles, ont en commun certaines idées fondamentales:<sup>29</sup>

Le Dieu créateur et législateur de la Bible n'est pas le vrai Dieu; celui-ci, principe suprême, plane infiniment au-dessus de ce demiurge grossier.

Le Dieu de la Bible ignore le vrai Dieu; et le monde l'a ignoré jusqu'à l'apparition de Jésus-Christ, qui, lui, procède du Dieu véritable.

Entre le vrai Dieu et la Création s'interpose une série d'intermédiaires: ce sont des êtres divins, les éons, généralement arrangés par couples ou syzygies. Dans cette série, il se produit à un point quelconque un accident, un désordre qui en trouble l'harmonie: par exemple, par suite de la défaillance d'un éon, certaines parcelles divines tombent dans les régions inférieures. Le monde sensible (y compris souvent son créateur) procède de cette faute originelle.

Enfin, il y a dans l'humanité des parties qui dérivent de quelque façon de ce monde céleste supérieur au demiurge—étincelles divines emprisonnées dans la matière; Jésus-Christ est venu sur la terre pour les libérer,

26. *Contra Celsum*, 1.

27. *Jésus et sa doctrine*, 1, 178, note 1.

28. "Lettre à M. Gustave Flaubert sur la Tentation de Saint Antoine" (Venise, 8 septembre 1873), in: *Feuilles détachées*, xxvi, 346.

29. J'emprunte les éléments de ce résumé à Matter et à l'article de Réville sur *Saint Irénée*, dont l'objet est précisément de "résumer les grands traits des écoles gnostiques en les dégagant d'une effrayante fermentation de systèmes." J'utilise aussi Mgr Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, 3<sup>e</sup> éd., 1907, 1, xi.



pour les dégager de leur gangue matérielle: c'est le vrai sens de la Rédemption.

Telles sont les notions générales que Flaubert pouvait extraire de ses sources modernes. Mais pour lui, son objet n'était évidemment pas de rédiger "une histoire" ou "un précis" du gnosticisme. Il lui fallait au contraire éviter tout exposé suivi et cohérent: il lui fallait scinder et diviser ce corps de doctrine, en déployer les ramifications vénéneuses aux yeux d'Antoine épouvanté.

Les critiques qui ont reproché à Flaubert d'avoir "tout embrouillé," d'avoir "mêlé les questions" et "confondu les systèmes"<sup>30</sup> n'ont pas vu qu'il l'a fait à bon escient; ils ont imputé à son ignorance ou à son incompréhension un désordre délibéré. Cette confusion, en effet, n'est qu'une exigence de mise en scène: elle cache une claire intelligence du sujet, appuyée sur l'information la plus nourrie.

Tous les aspects majeurs du gnosticisme sont habilement évoqués tour à tour, en même temps qu'éclatent ses conséquences ruineuses pour la morale et pour la foi.

En opposant le démiurge au vrai Dieu, et Jésus à Jéhovah, il menace la solidarité des deux Testaments; voici toute la horde des Saturnin, des Cerdon et des Marcion qui dénoncent le "Dieu des Juifs" comme un "ange révolté," ou comme un imposteur, qui a "répandu le mensonge et l'idolâtrie" (pages 54-55).

Le gnosticisme dissout la réalité de l'histoire évangélique: alors que pour les Ebionites, Jésus est simplement "le fils du charpentier,"<sup>31</sup> pour les sectes docétistes l'incarnation est une pure apparence: l'éon-Jésus a "simulé la Passion" et la Résurrection (pages 71 et 69).

L'enseignement de la Gnose met en péril l'autorité de la morale courante; car, si le divin égaré dans l'humanité, c'est-à-dire l'âme, n'est pas solidaire de la chair qui l'opprime, comment faut-il traiter le corps? Ou bien il faut l'annihiler par l'ascèse; ou bien, au contraire, il faut lui permettre tous les assouvissements. Ces deux tendances contradictoires — l'une ascétique, et l'autre libertine — Flaubert les illustre tour à tour. "Pour délivrer le rayon céleste enfermé dans la matière," Manès prêche le jeûne et la continence (pages 53-54); Tertullien et les Montanistes réclament de cruelles mortifications (pages 61, 65); Origène et les Valésiens mutilent leur virilité (page 66); et les Circoncillions ne voient de salut "que dans le martyre" (page 67). Cependant les voluptueux Carpocratien se hâtent d'"accomplir les œuvres des Ténèbres" (page 58); les Nicolaïtes s'attablent autour des viandes, les

30. Saint-René Taillandier, "Une sotie au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle," *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1<sup>er</sup> mai 1874, p. 222.

31. Les Ebionites de Flaubert enchantèrent Renan, qui les trouve "adorables" (*loc. cit.*, p. 352). On pouvait s'y attendre.

Marcosiens se parfument de baume (page 59); les Messaliens crouaissent dans une paresse abjecte; et les Paterniens concluent triomphalement: "Les parties inférieures du corps faites par le Diable lui appartiennent. Buons, mangeons, forniquons!" (page 60).

Bien entendu, de telles idées ne peuvent se réclamer de l'Ancien Testament qui, d'ailleurs, est universellement répudié comme inspiré par le Créateur. Les gnostiques invoquent donc des traditions spéciales et des livres apocryphes. "J'aurais encore à vous parler de bien des choses," avait dit Jésus à ses disciples;<sup>32</sup> et Hilarion rappelle à Saint Antoine cette parole mystérieuse (page 51). S'autorisant de ces entretiens secrets du Sauveur avec les Apôtres, les Encratites proclament l'Evangile de Thomas, les Caïnites celui de Judas (page 71). D'autres se réclament des anciens justes, comme les Marcosiens avec leur Evangile d'Eve;<sup>33</sup> d'autres encore, de prophètes inspirés, tels que le Barcouf des Manichéens (page 71).

"Le rôle des femmes dans l'histoire du gnosticisme," observe Matter,<sup>34</sup> "est aussi considérable que dans celle du Christianisme lui-même. Elles occupent une grande place dans les rangs de la dissidence."

Antoine, en effet, "remarque beaucoup de femmes" parmi les hérétiques (page 51); mais Hilarion le rassure, en lui rappelant que "les femmes sont toujours pour Jésus." Elles interviennent activement dans le dialogue qui suit: Antoine entend discourir tour à tour Marcelina, Priscilla, Maximilla, Hélène. . .

L'importance du culte extérieur, le rôle des symboles et des rites, est encore un trait distinctif des sectes gnostiques, et Flaubert n'a pas manqué de le souligner. On y aimait beaucoup les mots, les nombres mystérieux, les talismans. Et nous voyons, par exemple, Basilide prendre Saint Antoine par le coude pour l'initier à la vertu magique des noms, et au pouvoir des amulettes (pages 57-58): "L'Etre Suprême avec les émanations infinies s'appelle Abraxas, et le Sauveur avec toutes ses vertus Kaulakau, autrement ligne-sur-ligne, rectitude-sur-rectitude. On obtient la force de Kaulakau par le secours de certains mots, inscrits sur cette calcédoine pour faciliter la mémoire . . ."

Et il lui montre à son cou "une petite pierre où sont gravées des lignes bizarres." De même, dans la chambre basse où les Ophites célèbrent

32. "Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo." Jean, 16, 5-14.

33. Flaubert a dans sa liste bibliographique le *Testament d'Adam*, de Renan. Il s'agit de fragments du livre gnostique intitulé *Apocalypse d'Adam* ou *Pénitence d'Adam* ou *Testament d'Adam*, publiés d'après deux versions syriaques dans le *Journal Asiatique*, 1853, pp. 427-471.

34. III, 37.

leur culte secret, se trouvent l'image symbolique de Knouphis, et des médaillons représentant des têtes d'animaux; et l'Inspiré déroule devant les fidèles "une pancarte couverte de cylindres entremêlés" (pages 73-74).

De tous ces détails, dont l'ensemble restitue la physionomie des sectes gnostiques, aucun n'est inventé: Flaubert les a laborieusement extraits de ses énormes lectures. C'est ce que prouve l'analyse, qui révèle, en même temps, l'adresse avec laquelle ils sont introduits et agencés.

Mais ce qui frappe d'abord, c'est son souci constant de rester le plus près possible des textes. A chaque instant s'affirme sa familiarité avec les auteurs ecclésiastiques des premiers siècles, et ce n'est pas sans raison qu'il s'intitulait plaisamment: "le dernier des Pères de l'Eglise"<sup>35</sup> Deux ou trois exemples suffiront ici.

La tirade d'Arius est une traduction quasi-littérale de Saint Epiphane:

*Tentation*, page 68

*Haeres.* LXIX, 733 (Epistola Arii ad Alexandrum)

**ARIUS**—Mille fois non! le Fils n'est pas coéternel au Père, ni de la même substance! Autrement, il n'aurait pas dit: "... Je vais à mon Dieu, à votre Dieu!

Non enim aeternus, nec coaeternus est, nec cum Patre ingenuus . . . Alioqui non diceret: . . . Vado ad Deum meum, et Deum vestrum . . .

Pourquoi m'appellez-vous bon? Dieu seul est bon," et d'autres paroles attestant sa qualité de créature.

*Ibid.*, 742

Pergit vero furiosus atque amens Arius et Cur, inquit, Dominus dixit: "Quid me dicis bonum? Unus est bonus Deus."

Elle nous est démontrée, de plus, par tous ses noms: agneau, pasteur, fontaine, sagesse, fils de l'homme, prophète, bonne voie, pierre angulaire!

*Ibid.*, 758

Praeterea etiam creaturam, inquiunt, esse confitemur. Etenim Christus janua dicitur, et via, agnus . . . fons . . . sapientia, . . . Filius hominis, lapis angularis, propheta . . . , pastor . . .

**SABELLIUS**—Moi, je soutiens que tous deux sont identiques.

*Ibid.*, 733

(Epistola Arii ad Alexandrum)

Non enim assentiri Sabellio possumus, qui Filium Patrem quasi unum eundemque constituit.

35. Lettre à sa nièce, 17 août 1876 (n° 1604); cf. une autre lettre à sa nièce, 21 août 1873 (n° 1393); Flaubert raconte qu'il a dîné avec Renan chez la princesse Mathilde: "De quoi avons-nous causé: des Pères de l'Eglise. M. Vieux a étalé son érudition."

On a remarqué que Flaubert pousse le scrupule jusqu'à mettre dans la bouche d'Arius les termes mêmes dont il se sert dans sa lettre à Alexandre, reproduite par Saint Epiphane.

Il procède de même, plus loin, pour l'épisode de Simon. Il utilise cette fois, presque mot pour mot, les prétendus fragments de Simon contenus dans le *Spicilegium* de Grabius (*Fragmenta librorum Simonis Magi*) et les *Recognitiones* du pseudo-Clément, qui rapporte les paroles du magicien.

*Tentation*, page 92

SIMON—L'impuissance de Jéhovah se démontre par la transgression d'Adam . . .

page 94

Je peux faire se mouvoir des serpents de bronze, rire des statues de marbre, parler des chiens. Je te montrerai une immense quantité d'or; j'établirai des rois, tu verras des peuples m'adorant! Je peux marcher sur les nuages et sur les flots, passer à travers les montagnes, . . . prendre ton visage, te donner le mien. . . .

L'apostrophe d'Antoine à Simon, elle aussi, vient directement des *Recognitiones*:

page 93

ANTOINE— . . . Vaincu par Saint Pierre, tu as jeté dans les flots le sac qui contenait tes artifices!

*Spicilegium*, I, page 308

Objecit Simo Magus, iniquiens: "Deus ille, qui Adamum condidit, impotens erat atque imbecillis, neque enim efficere potuit, ut maneret Adamus, qualem esse volebat."

*Recognitiones*, x, 66

Canes feci aereos latrare et statuas moveri, figuras mutari hominum . . . Statuas animatas reddam . . . Aurum plurimum ostendam . . . reges faciam . . . adorabor ut deus . . . In aere volando invehar . . . Si fugere velim montes perforem . . . Vultum meum commuto, ut non agnoscar. . . .

*Recognitiones*, m, 63

Imposuit super humeros meos polluta quaedam et execrabilia secreta sua ut portarem . . . Ubi ventum est ad mare, id a cervicibus meis quod portare jusserrat, sumsit. Et paulo post egressus nihil extulit, certum quod in mare id jecerat.

Enfin, quand Maximilla s'écrie (page 64): "Je suis la dernière des prophétesses, et après moi la fin du monde viendra!" elle répète textuellement la phrase que lui prête Saint Epiphane:<sup>36</sup> "Sic enim vates illorum Maximilla praedicat: *Post me nulla amplius erit prophetissa, sed finis sequetur.*"

36. *Haeres.*, XLVIII, 403.

Une grande difficulté, pour Flaubert, était de condenser les discours de ses hérétiques, de les réduire à quelques formules brèves et frappantes. C'est une difficulté qu'il n'avait pas toujours résolue dans les premières versions, où ses personnages péroraient interminablement; mais la version définitive marque un grand progrès sur ce point.<sup>37</sup> Le couplet de Tertullien nous fournit ici un très bon exemple. On va voir avec quelle ingénieuse simplicité Flaubert dégage immédiatement sa physionomie originale, et lui assigne sa place dans la horde des hérétiques.

Les gnostiques licencieux viennent de parler. Soudain (pages 60-61):

*UN HOMME*—vêtu d'un manteau carthaginois, bondit au milieu d'eux, avec un paquet de lanières à la main; et frappant au hasard de droite et de gauche, violemment: Ah! imposteurs, brigands, simoniaques, hérétiques et démons! la vermine des écoles, la lie de l'enfer...<sup>38</sup>

*ANTOINE*—qui a reconnu Tertullien, s'élance pour le rejoindre: Maître! maître! A moi!

Cette entrée dramatique, déjà, trahit la violence de Tertullien, son humeur agressive, son caractère "âpre, insolent, ferrailleur"; dans un article que Flaubert avait lu, Réville<sup>39</sup> rappelle son apostrophe véhémentement à l'évêque de Rome, Zéphyrin, qui avait permis la réintégration de chrétiens pécheurs:

Absit! Absit! tu souilles par un tel édit les oreilles de l'Eglise Vierge! Le Seigneur a bien voulu appeler le Temple de Dieu une caverne de voleurs, jamais il ne l'eût désigné comme un repaire de fornicateurs et d'adultères!<sup>40</sup>

Tertullien fait éclater aussi, dès son apparition, son antipathie pour les hérésies contemporaines, dont le caractère inquiet et remuant l'exaspère: on reconnaît instantanément l'*Antignosticus*.

Mais il continue (page 61): "Brisez les images! Voilez les vierges! Priez, jeûnez, pleurez, mortifiez-vous!" Et cette fois on reconnaît

37. Comme l'a souligné H. Mazel, "Les Trois Tentations de Saint-Antoine," *Mercur de France*, 1928, pp. 633-635.

38. Les injures que Tertullien distribue à chaque hérétique en particulier sont curieuses à étudier dans le détail: même ces invectives sont "authentiques." Ainsi Tertullien appelle Marcion "matelot de Sinope"; l'expression vient du *Contra Marcionem* et du *De Praescriptione*. Il ajoute: "excommunié pour inceste"; c'est ce que dit Saint Epiphane: *Ob hanc igitur incestum Ecclesia pulsus est*. Etc.

39. Tertullien et le Montanisme; cf. *supra*.

40. Noter que chez Flaubert Tertullien apparaît dans l'attitude de Jésus chassant les marchands du Temple. Noter aussi que l'expression de *Maître* est celle dont se servait Saint Cyprien pour demander les œuvres de Tertullien: *Da magistrum* (Réville, *loc. cit.*, p. 179).

l'auteur puritain du *De Idolatria*, du *De Virginibus velandis*, et du *De Jejuno*.<sup>41</sup>

Enfin, la conclusion rageuse: "Pas de philosophie! pas de livres! après Jésus, la science est inutile!" est bien celle du *De Praescriptione*: "Hérétiques et philosophes ressassent les mêmes sujets, s'embarrassent dans les mêmes détours... Nous n'avons pas besoin de curiosité après Jésus-Christ, ni d'investigation après l'Evangile."<sup>42</sup>

A Tertullien succèdent immédiatement Priscilla et Maximilla, les deux compagnes de Montanus: le rapprochement est significatif; on sait que l'ascétisme intransigeant de Tertullien le fit pencher vers le Montanisme, "considéré comme une tentative désespérée de restaurer et de renforcer l'ancienne discipline chrétienne, en vue de la prochaine fin du monde."<sup>43</sup> Aussi réparait-il pour approuver catégoriquement Montanus (page 65) et ses vues matérialistes sur l'âme.<sup>44</sup> C'est encore son aversion pour tout ce qui pourrait plaire dans la vie actuelle qui explique l'étrange opinion qu'il exprime dans le *De Carne Christi*,<sup>45</sup> et de nouveau dans la *Tentation* (page 72): "Le visage de Jésus était d'un aspect farouche et repoussant."

Ainsi donc, en quelques touches sommaires, Flaubert évoque et situe distinctement une doctrine, et une personnalité.

Il excelle aussi à grouper les textes, ou à les combiner avec la patiente adresse d'un mosaïste.

La question d'Antoine: "Qu'est-ce-donc que le Verbe? Qu'était Jésus?" (page 68) provoque des exclamations discordantes,—mais dont chacune est une citation habilement placée (page 69). Les Séthianiens s'écrient: "C'était Sem, fils de Noé!" (Cf. Saint Augustin, *De Haeresibus*, 19: *Quidam eos dicunt Sem filium Noe Christum putare*); "Ce n'était rien qu'un homme!" disent les Mérinthiens (cf. *ibid.*, 8: *Merinthiani Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse*...). "Il ressuscitera," assure Cérinthe (cf. *ibid.*, 8: *... nec resurrexisse, sed resurrecturum asseverantes*). "Il fut d'abord dans Adam, puis dans l'homme," réplique Méthodius (cf. Beausobre, I, 118: *Méthodius dit en propres termes que le Verbe s'unit au commencement à la personne d'Adam, ou plutôt qu'il s'incarne dans Adam... mais qu'Adam, ayant bientôt perdu la présence par le péché, le Verbe s'est uni de nouveau à l'Homme*).

41. Dans la première version (p. 252), le même procédé est employé, mais maladroitement. C'est Antoine qui dit à Tertullien: "Vous qui poursuiviez tant les idolâtres (cf. *De Idolatria*), qui déclamiez contre le luxe des femmes (*De Ornatu mulierum*), vous ravalez l'âme immortelle (*De Anima*) et vous voilà habillé comme les philosophes stoïques." Et Tertullien répond: "J'ai même écrit là-dessus un traité que tu aurais dû lire." (*De Pallio*).

42. Cité par Réville, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Cf. le *De Anima*.

45. Cité par Réville, *loc. cit.*, p. 196, note 1.

A cette autre question: "Comment était son visage?" (page 72) répondent, nous l'avons vu plus haut,<sup>46</sup> Tertullien et Marcellina; mais Eusèbe de Césarée saisit l'occasion pour placer son mot: "Il y a bien à Panacades," dit-il, "une statue élevée, à ce qu'on prétend, par l'hémorroïdesse . . ." (cf. *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 18: *De statua quam mulier sanguinis fluxu laborans posuit . . . Hanc statuam Jesu Christi speciem referre aiebant*).<sup>47</sup>

Flaubert, au besoin, sait même exploiter les textes profanes, comme dans le passage où il juxtapose Suétone et le pseudo-Clément. Simon veut persuader à Antoine effaré que sa compagne, Ennoia, est la Lune:

*Tentation*, page 92

SIMON—Caius César Caligula en est devenu amoureux, puisqu'il voulait coucher avec la Lune!

ANTOINE—Eh bien?

SIMON—Mais c'est elle qui est la Lune! Le pape Clément n'a-t-il pas écrit qu'elle fut emprisonnée dans une tour? Trois cents personnes vinrent cerner la tour; et à chacune des meurtrières en même temps, on vit paraître la lune . . .

Suétone, *Caligula*, xxii

Et noctibus quidem plenum fulgentemque lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus atque concubitum . . .

*Recognitiones*, II, 8

Igitur . . . Simo accepit Lunam . . . Sed hoc indicare debeo, quod ipse vidisse me memini, cum esset aliquando Luna ejus in turri quadam, multitudo ingens ad eam convenerat pervidendam et undique circa turrim stabat; at illa per omnes fenestras turris illius omni populo procumbere ac prospicere videbatur . . .

Il y a là tout un minutieux travail de combinaison et d'ajustage.

Mais à coup sûr le mérite le plus original de Flaubert est le parti qu'il tire de ses sources figurées.

Les images, nous le savons déjà,<sup>48</sup> jouent dans le gnosticisme un rôle important, si important que le livre de Matter contient un volume entier de planches. En outre, Flaubert a consulté d'autres ouvrages illustrés: l'*Iconographie chrétienne*, *Histoire de Dieu*, de Didron (1843); les *Symbols and Emblems of Early Christian Art*, de L. Twining (Londres, 1852); la *Description générale des médaillons contorniates*, de J. Sabatier (1860-1861).<sup>49</sup> Quand Saint Antoine pénètre dans la chambre basse où les Ophites vont célébrer leur culte (page 73),

46. Pp. 204, 212.

47. C. R. Eisler, "La prétendue statue de Jésus et de l'hémorroïdesse à Panacés," *Revue archéologique*, 1930, pp. 18-27.

48. Cf. *supra*, p. 208.

49. Flaubert a pu utiliser ce dernier ouvrage pour la description de l'hippodrome de Constantinople (*Tentation*, pp. 25-26) et pour celle du cirque (pp. 77-78). En tout cas, Sabatier le renvoyait aux gravures du *De ludis circensibus* de Panvinus. V. *infra*, note 63.



... ce qui le frappe d'abord, c'est en face de lui une longue chrysalide couleur de sang, avec une tête d'homme d'où s'échappent des rayons et le mot Knouphis écrit en grec tout autour. Elle domine un fût de colonne, posé au milieu d'un piédestal.

On retrouve cette image dans une planche de Matter (Pl. II A); c'est une combinaison de la figure 10 et des autres figures de la même planche. En voici l'explication:<sup>50</sup>

Les rayons solaires et le mot de Chnouphis ne permettent pas de douter que ce ne soit Agathodémon, génie bon, génie de lumière; et la légende... paraît indiquer clairement Ophis-Christos, Ophis révélateur de la science supérieure, Ophis sauveur; conjecture à laquelle une figure humaine d'une plénitude remarquable donne un nouveau degré de probabilité... Cependant la forme de chrysalide et de momie que prend ici Agathodémon... doit être ici l'emblème d'une idée que n'expriment pas les autres monuments du même genre... Rien ne saurait mieux exprimer que cette momie-chrysalide la régénération de l'âme pour cette vie d'immortalité, cette vie du plérôme à laquelle Ophis-Christos appelle la race sainte.<sup>51</sup>

Sur les autres parois de la chambre [continue Flaubert] des médaillons en fer poli représentent des têtes d'animaux, celle d'un bœuf, d'un lion, d'un aigle, d'un chien, et la tête d'âne,—encore!<sup>52</sup>

Ces médaillons composent le diagramme des Ophites, tel que le décrit Origène, et tel que le reproduit une autre planche de Matter (Pl. I D), avec le commentaire suivant:<sup>53</sup>

Ce diagramme comprend dix sphères. Les trois sphères supérieures étaient probablement consacrées à Iadabaoth, au génie Ophis ou à Jésus, et à Sophia. Les sept autres contiennent les symboles des esprits inférieurs, représentés sous la forme de ou avec des têtes de lion, aigle, taureau, etc. Il n'y a que l'âne

50. *Explication des planches*, p. 36.

51. Didron, *op. cit.*, reproduit d'après Montfaucon un abraxas analogue, "amulette à l'usage des gnostiques" (p. 39, fig. 10), et parle en divers endroits de l'influence du gnosticisme sur l'iconographie chrétienne (pp. 192-198; 248-250). Il est probable que c'est lui qui a inspiré à Flaubert l'image finale de la *Tentation* (version définitive, p. 201): "Comme les rideaux d'un tabernacle qu'on relève, des nuages d'or en s'enroulant en larges volutes découvrent le ciel. Tout au milieu et dans le disque même du soleil, rayonne la face de Jésus-Christ." Cf. tout le développement de Didron (p. 147 sq.): "Dieu est la lumière, le soleil est son image. Dieu et le soleil rayonnant, le fils de Dieu, devait rayonner aussi et porter le nimbe qui est la forme de ce rayonnement." Cf. encore p. 113, fig. 37: "le Seigneur dans une auréole de nuages." C'est seulement en mai 1873 que Flaubert a décidé de terminer la *Tentation* par cette image: "J'ai envie de remplacer les trois vertus théologales par la face du Christ qui apparaît dans le soleil" (Lettre à George Sand, 25-31 mai 1873, n° 1372).

52. C'est la tête d'âne qu'Antoine a déjà vue chez les Marcosiens (p. 59) et qui représente Sabaoth. Cf. Saint Epiphane, *Haeres.*, xxvi, 91, 94: *Quod ad Sabaoth pertinet, hunc alii quidem asini figura constare censent. ... Viderat autem Zacharias ... asini figuram stantem hominem. ...*

53. II, 424-427 (éd. 1843).

qui manque à cette curieuse nomenclature. Mais l'âne aussi a joué son rôle dans les mystères de l'antiquité, et dans la Bible.

"Ces mêmes figures," ajoute Matter,<sup>54</sup> "étaient dessinées sur un tableau figuré, propre à communiquer l'instruction mystique."

Et justement, un peu plus loin dans la *Tentation* (page 74):

... L'INSPIRÉ déroule une pancarte couverte de cylindres entremêlés, et il explique aux fidèles, en désignant les médaillons: l'Homme... fut créé par l'infâme Dieu d'Israël, avec l'auxiliaire de ceux-là: Astophaïos, Oraïos, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloï, Iaô...

C'est bien ce que dit Matter:<sup>55</sup>

Les Ophites abaissaient le Dieu du judaïsme au point de donner ses noms aux aides du créateur. ... Les noms des génies émanés d'Iadabaoth étaient Iaô, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloï, Oraïos, Astaphaïos. ... La première création qu'il fit ainsi, avec le secours de ses aides, fut celle de l'Homme...

Or, ces images dont s'inspire Flaubert sont en elles-mêmes très peu expressives; ce sont de sèches lithographies. Mais il les anime, il leur prête couleur et relief. L'exemple le plus frappant à cet égard est le couplet d'Hélène-Ennoia (page 89):

J'ai le souvenir d'une région lointaine, couleur d'émeraude. Un seul arbre l'occupe.

A chaque degré de ses larges rameaux se tient en l'air un couple d'esprits. Les branches autour d'eux s'entrecroisent, comme les veines d'un corps; et ils regardent la vie éternelle circuler depuis les racines plongeant dans l'ombre jusqu'au faite qui dépasse le soleil. Moi, sur la deuxième branche, j'éclairais avec ma figure les nuits d'été.

Ce couplet est sorti tout entier d'un simple graphique: le dessin du Plérôme, tel qu'on le trouve dans Matter (Pl. 1 C, figure 4). On y voit les esprits groupés deux par deux, en "syzygies," selon la gnose nuptiale de Valentin. Un ovale, de... cercles reliés par des lignes courbes—cela suffit à l'imagination de Flaubert pour engendrer cette vision étrange, d'une magnificence de rêve.

Les critiques qui ont comparé les remaniements successifs de la *Tentation* ont été frappés du progrès décisif que marque, dans la troisième version, la présentation de l'épisode des Hérésies.<sup>56</sup> Ils ont noté tout ce que cet épisode a gagné en clarté, en variété, en pittoresque, en intérêt dramatique: la cohue primitive s'est ordonnée, les abstractions fatigantes (la Logique et les Péchés) ont disparu; des figures distinctes

54. II, 395.

55. II, 140-143.

56. H. Mazel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 633-635; et A. Pantke, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-124 (Die Häresien), et pp. 124-127 (Simon und Helena).

se sont dégagées du grouillement confus; des *solis* ont remplacé les chœurs; les exposés dogmatiques, d'abord interminables, ont été réduits de moitié ou des deux tiers;<sup>57</sup> les tableaux d'action<sup>58</sup> sont venus alterner avec les discours et les disputes; l'ensemble est devenu rapide, mouvementé, coloré.

Il est inutile de reprendre ici cette démonstration; je voudrais seulement souligner l'habileté supérieure des transitions dans la version finale. Dans cette version, la scène change, et Antoine se déplace, ce qui ajoute à la variété et renforce l'effet dramatique; mais comment s'enchaînent les visions du saint? et comment Flaubert ménage-t-il le passage d'un décor au décor suivant?

Ici encore, la confusion et l'incohérence sont tout apparentes. Ces transitions sont commandées par une logique interne: ce sont les curiosités et les émotions successives d'Antoine qui provoquent ses visions. Ainsi, son désir éperdu de voir le visage de Jésus le conduit aux Ophites, qui prétendent pouvoir, à volonté, faire reparaître le Seigneur (page 73). D'autre part, on remarque que les changements de décor coïncident avec les brèves reprises de conscience qui séparent ses hallucinations. Par exemple, après avoir assisté à l'affreuse apparition du python, Antoine s'évanouit d'horreur. . . . En rouvrant les yeux, "il aperçoit le Nil, onduleux et clair sous la blancheur de la lune, comme un grand serpent au milieu des sables" (page 77). C'est le fleuve miroitant qui avait causé son cauchemar. Mais, de nouveau, le voici fasciné par la contemplation de l'eau, "si bien que, l'hallucination le reprenant, il n'a pas quitté les Ophites; ils l'entourent, l'appellent, charrient des bagages, descendent vers le port. Il s'embarque avec eux. . . . "Au terme de ce voyage imaginaire, il se retrouve à Rome.

Plus loin, il lui semble qu'il est dans une forêt de l'Inde. Il contemple un gymnosophe, qui se brûle sur son bûcher (page 87); puis la vision disparaît, et Antoine s'aperçoit que la torche qu'il avait laissé glisser de sa main (page 77) a incendié des éclats de bois, devant sa cabane, et que les flammes lui ont roussi la barbe. "On voit," écrivait Taine à Flaubert,<sup>59</sup> "que vous connaissez très bien les prodromes et le mécanisme de l'hallucination, cela s'engrène."

Cependant, certains tableaux ont paru bizarrement amenés, ou même déplacés. Et d'abord le tableau du cirque, qui ne figurait pas dans les premières versions.

J'incline à croire qu'il a été inspiré à Flaubert par les deux articles de

57. Cf. *supra*, p. 211.

58. Par exemple, Tertullien fouillant ses adversaires; Montanus intervenant pour séparer Priscilla et Maximilla qui se battent, etc. Antoine lui-même est beaucoup plus actif. Dès 1856, Flaubert écrivait: "Je suis agacé de la déclamation qu'il y a dans ce livre. Je cherche des effets brutaux, dramatiques."

59. Lettre à M. G. Flaubert, 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1874, reproduite en appendice à l'édition Conard, p. 683.

Réville que j'ai déjà cités.<sup>60</sup> Réville cite et commente la lettre fameuse des chrétiens de Lyon aux Eglises d'Asie sur la grande persécution de 177. A ce propos, il souligne que, devant la menace de la torture, certains chrétiens avaient faibli et apostasié.

Or, déjà Hilarion (page 43; cf. *supra*, début) avait essayé de persuader Antoine de l'inutilité de la souffrance et de la vanité du martyre. Antoine aperçoit maintenant (page 79) un jeune homme, un vieillard, qui doutent de la valeur de leur sacrifice et qui regrettent la vie; ils se souviennent que Saint Cyprien lui-même avait fui la persécution, que Pierre d'Alexandrie avait blâmé ceux qui la recherchaient. Hilarion l'avait déjà rappelé à Antoine (page 44): "... D'ailleurs, cette manière de mourir amène de grands désordres. Denys, Cyprien et Grégoire s'y sont soustraits. Pierre d'Alexandrie l'a blâmée. ..."

Réville souligne aussi qu'au témoignage de la lettre quelques-uns des martyrs de Lyon, venus d'Asie-Mineure, étaient montanisants: ce furent les plus fermes devant la mort. Irénée cite, en particulier, un certain Alexandre de Phrygie.<sup>61</sup>

Or, déjà Hilarion (page 43) avait répliqué aux objections d'Antoine, admirateur des martyrs: "Admire donc les Montanistes! Ils dépassent tous les autres. ..." Et maintenant (pages 78 et 81), dans la prison où les chrétiens défilent de terreur, Antoine remarque un Phrygien à longs cheveux, qui reste impassible au milieu de l'abatement général. Et tous ses compagnons d'infortune l'injurient en vociférant: "Damnation au Montaniste!"

Il y a de quoi troubler profondément Antoine. Il professait jadis (page 43): "C'est la vérité de la doctrine qui fait le martyr ..."; il a lieu de méditer à présent l'objection perfide d'Hilarion: "Comment peut-il en prouver l'excellence, puisqu'il témoigne également pour l'erreur?"<sup>62</sup>

Tel est le lien logique du tableau du cirque avec les Hérésies. Quant à sa présentation pittoresque—description de l'arène aperçue ou plutôt devinée à travers les barreaux d'une loge—elle est d'une vie, d'un relief, d'une "atmosphère" intenses. C'est que, comme toujours, Flaubert s'est scrupuleusement documenté. Il a consulté le *De ludis circensibus* de Panvinus;<sup>63</sup> c'est là qu'il a trouvé certains détails, par exemple les coussins d'herbe pour s'asseoir (page 78) que les spectateurs achètent

60. Saint Irénée et les gnostiques de son temps, p. 1001; Tertullien et le Montanisme, pp. 194-195.

61. Saint Irénée ..., p. 1000; Tertullien ..., p. 191.

62. Cf. Réville, Saint Irénée ..., p. 1015: "La lettre (d'Irénée au nom des montanisants) devait pousser l'évêque de Rome, Eleuthère, à ne pas mépriser une tendance que le martyr venait de consacrer. Les chrétiens de Lyon n'avaient-ils pas égalé les autres?"

63. O. Panvinus, *De ludis circensibus Libri II*, Padoue, 1681; cité dans la liste bibliographique, p. 301. Flaubert se souvient sans doute aussi de sa visite aux arènes de Nîmes; cf. *Par les champs* ... (Pyramides), pp. 401-402.

avant la représentation; il y a chez Panvinus toute une dissertation sur ces *pulvilli herba conflati*.<sup>64</sup>

Le tableau suivant est celui du cimetière (pages 81-84); il se rattache aisément à celui du cirque, dont il forme l'épilogue. Saint Antoine a vu comment certains chrétiens se comportent devant le martyr; il va voir maintenant comment certains de leurs frères se comportent après leur mort.

C'est la nuit; dans une plaine, des formes indécises sont penchées sur des dalles, au ras du sol. Antoine reconnaît des patriciennes aux longs voiles, des hommes du peuple. . . Ils allument des torches sur les tombeaux, qui sont ceux des martyrs; puis chacun d'eux, en pleurant, évoque l'ami, la fiancée, le frère disparus. Mais cette évocation les exalte; et voici qu'ils commencent un repas funèbre qui s'achève en orgie. Finalement, "ils se mêlent sur les tombes, entre les coupes et les flambeaux."

Comme le précédent, cet épisode assez trouble n'apparaît que dans la dernière version. Flaubert écrivait à sa nièce, le 30 avril 1871: "J'ai commencé ce soir la description d'un petit cimetière chrétien où les fidèles viennent pleurer les martyrs. Ce sera *estrange*."<sup>65</sup>

Bien entendu, son intention a paru blasphématoire à certains critiques, comme Saint-René Taillandier:<sup>66</sup>

Les premiers chrétiens (dit-il en résumant la *Tentation*) racontent leur<sup>67</sup> épreuves dans les agapes fraternelles, avec des transports qui les enivrent. L'auteur ne néglige pas cette occasion de répéter les calomnies des païens contre les communautés chrétiennes. Ecoutez ce qu'il ose dire de ces réunions saintes où de si nobles personnes . . . etc.

L'une des autorités de Flaubert est en effet un païen: Fauste. Beausobre<sup>68</sup> examine les arguments de Fauste, qui accuse les chrétiens d'avoir conservé les superstitions païennes, et en particulier d'honorer les martyrs par des cérémonies semblables à celles dont les païens honoraient les âmes des illustres morts. "Fauste," dit Beausobre,<sup>68</sup> "reproche aux chrétiens qu'à l'exemple des payens ils apaisaient les ombres des morts par du vin et par des viandes."

C'est, textuellement, ce que nous lisons chez Flaubert (page 84): " . . . Les fidèles, l'œil fixé sur les dalles, murmurent: *Apaise-toi! Je t'ai apporté du vin, des viandes!*" Mais Beausobre lui-même a certainement suggéré d'autres traits. Il rappelle, par exemple, que les chrétiens enlevaient secrètement les restes des martyrs, les os que les bêtes

64. *Op. cit.*, notes sur le chapitre v, 8. Cf. le *circense tomentum* dont parle Martial.

65. P. 1173.

66. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

67. *Op. cit.*, Livre IX, chap. III et IV.

68. II. pp. 633 et 683. Cf. Faustus apud Augustum, XX, 4: *Defunctorum umbras placatis et dapibus*.

n'avaient pu dévorer, et les enterraient dans des lieux inconnus au public.<sup>69</sup> Il rappelle aussi les assemblées auprès des sépulcres, aux anniversaires des martyrs<sup>70</sup>; et il note à ce propos: "*Jusqu'ici tout est innocent.* On remarque seulement dans les chrétiens une affection pour les corps des martyrs, qui paraît trop humaine. . . . Par exemple, les chrétiens baisent les vases ou les linges enfermant les reliques."<sup>71</sup>

Flaubert a utilisé ce trait (page 83): la fiancée de Lucius "tire de sa poitrine une éponge toute noire et la couvre de baisers."

Mais, continue Beausobre,<sup>72</sup> ces assemblées dégénérèrent et devinrent scandaleuses:

Les chrétiens passaient la nuit en prières, en lectures, en exhortations dans les cimetières . . . Ensuite on y ajouta les festins. Ces dévotions nocturnes ne pouvaient avoir que de mauvaises suites. Elles en eurent, ce qui obligea le Concile d'Elvire de défendre aux femmes de s'y trouver. Il fallut les interdire entièrement dans la suite. . . . Il s'y était mêlé une autre sorte de débauche que les évêques ne pouvaient que réprimer: c'était l'ivrognerie.

Ces désordres étaient si connus, remarque Beausobre,<sup>73</sup> que même "Saint Jérôme et Saint Augustin n'en sont pas disconvenus." Il ne s'agit donc plus, cette fois, de calomnies païennes.

Bien mieux: la veuve qui, dans la *Tentation*, vient apporter aux morts un gâteau (page 84), et qui boit ensuite une gorgée de vin, cette veuve a un modèle dans l'histoire: c'est Sainte Monique, la propre mère du Saint Augustin.

La pieuse Monique, étant à Milan, visitait dévotement toutes les basiliques des martyrs, et suivant le coutume d'Afrique elle y faisait porter du pain, du vin, et une sorte de mets que les Latins appellent *pultis*. C'est une espèce de bouillie faite avec de l'eau, de la farine, des œufs, du fromage et du miel . . . Les Romains en firent la nourriture des Dieux Mânes, ou âmes des morts . . .<sup>74</sup>

Or, que dit la veuve de la *Tentation*, en déposant ses offrandes?

Voici du *pultis*, fait par moi, selon son goût, avec beaucoup d'œufs et double mesure de farine! (page 84).

Quant au verre de vin, il rappelle celui que Sainte Monique "allait poser sur toutes les Mémoires des martyrs, en buvant chaque fois une fort petite gorgée."<sup>75</sup>

69. II, pp. 640 et 642; cf. *Tentation*, p. 83: *J'ai recueilli ses os.*

70. II, 644.

71. II, pp. 646 et 661.

72. II, p. 667.

73. II, p. 665, V. lettre de Saint Augustin à Aurèle, évêque de Carthage, *Epist. xxxi*: *Istae in caemeteriis ebrietas et luxuriosa convivium non solum honores martyrum a carnale et imperiti plebe credi solent, sed etiam solatia mortuorum.*

74. Beausobre, II, p. 585. Cf. *Confessions*, VI, 2: *Epulae et synaxis ad sepulchra martyrum.*

75. Beausobre, II, p. 686. Cf. *Confessions*, *ibid.*: . . . *plus quam unum pocillum pro suo palato temperatum non ponebat.*



Chez Flaubert, il est vrai, la veuve ne s'en tient pas là, et ses compagnons non plus: "les libations redoublent." Mais Saint Augustin lui-même observe que l'extrême sobriété de sa mère était exceptionnelle: "elle ne buvait qu'un seul verre de vin mêlé de beaucoup d'eau, en quoi elle ne ressemblait pas à la plupart des hommes et des femmes de son temps."<sup>76</sup>

Ainsi donc, Flaubert n'a pas inventé cet épisode de l'orgie nocturne; et il ne l'a pas entièrement construit avec des racontars de païens.

Quant au décor, très légèrement esquissé d'ailleurs (toute la scène est d'une inconsistance de rêve), il l'a probablement emprunté à Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes de Rome, où l'on donne la description de ces cimetières sacrés*, 1837.<sup>77</sup> Le cimetière se trouve "dans une plaine aride et mamelonneuse, comme on en voit autour des carrières abandonnées" (page 82). Et Raoul-Rochette mentionne que les Catacombes sont des carrières de sable, aux portes de Rome; il explique qu'elles avaient été creusées en partie sous la République, mais laissées alors généralement à l'état de carrières.<sup>78</sup>

Il se peut même que Flaubert ait été inspiré par une peinture des Catacombes, que Raoul-Rochette décrit en ces termes:<sup>79</sup> "On y voit six personnages, hommes et femmes, assis à un banquet funèbre, deux desquels témoignent, par un geste significatif, le motif douloureux qui les rassemble; tandis que deux autres expriment l'intérêt que leur inspire l'arrivée d'une femme voilée. . . ."<sup>80</sup>

Nous arrivons à l'épisode du gymnosophe. L'apparition de ce personnage exotique dans sa forêt de bambous est assez inattendue: que vient faire là ce fakir indien "qui n'aurait pas dû, en bonne règle, figurer parmi les hérétiques?"<sup>81</sup>

En réalité, cette vision, elle aussi, avait été préparée, et de très loin, par une réflexion d'Hilarion (page 49): ". . . Le secret que tu voudrais tenir est gardé par des sages. Ils vivent dans un pays lointain, assis sous des arbres gigantesques. . . ." D'autre part, le parallélisme s'impose<sup>82</sup> entre les deux anachorètes, le solitaire de l'Inde et celui de la Thébaïde; mais la comparaison n'est pas à l'avantage de l'ermite chrétien;

76. Cf. *Confessions*, *ibid.*: *Non enim obsidebat spiritum ejum vinolentia . . . sicut plerosque mares et feminas, qui ad canticum sobrietatis, sicut ad potionem aquatam madidi nauseant.*

77. Cité dans la liste bibliographique, p. 290. Cf. *supra*, note 20.

78. *Op. cit.*, pp. 23 et 44.

79. *Op. cit.*, pp. 141-143.

80. Cf. *Tentation*, p. 82: "Des yeux brillent dans la fente des longs voiles."

81. H. Mazel, *loc. cit.*, p. 634.

82. En tout cas, il s'imposait à l'esprit de Flaubert, qui écrivait à George Sand, à la fin de juin 1869 (n° 1029): "Mon Dieu! comme la vie des Pères du désert est chose belle et farce! Mais c'étaient tous des bouddhistes, sans doute. . . ."



car enfin, si Saint Antoine "s'enfonce dans la solitude," c'est dans l'espoir d'une récompense; c'est pour gagner un jour les félicités éternelles; c'est peut-être même, comme le suggère sournoisement Hilarion, "pour se livrer mieux au débordement de ses convoitises" (page 42). Son émule indien, lui aussi, s'est *enfoncé dans la solitude*;<sup>83</sup> mais c'est, tout au contraire, pour tuer en lui tout désir, et pour éteindre finalement toute velléité de vivre: sa récompense à lui, ce sera le néant. Quant à ses austérités, elles dépassent de loin les mortifications que s'inflige le pauvre Antoine, béant devant cet être desséché, hideuse momie tout encroûtée d'ordures.

Cependant, si le rapprochement des deux "brachmanes," celui du Gange et celui du Nil,<sup>84</sup> se justifie sans peine, on s'étonne, avec M. Mazel, que le gymnosophe soit classé parmi les hérétiques. Mais Flaubert, ici encore, pouvait s'autoriser d'un texte précis.

Pour étudier le Manichéisme, il avait emprunté un tome des *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, le tome XXXI, qui contient un article de l'abbé Foucher sur Manès.<sup>85</sup> Or, dans ce même tome, se trouvent "cinq mémoires sur les anciens philosophes de l'Inde," par l'abbé Mignot, "avec preuve de la communication des Indiens avec quelques hérésiarques."<sup>86</sup> Ces anciens philosophes, nous précise Mignot "sont désignés sous le nom de gymnosophistes."

Voilà pourquoi Flaubert a cru pouvoir placer là son fakir, qui, dans les versions précédentes, figurait parmi les dieux de l'Inde.<sup>87</sup>

Quant aux sources de ce couplet, comme je l'ai montré ailleurs,<sup>88</sup> ce sont: l'*Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien*, de Burnouf; la *Reconnaissance de Sakountalâ*, drame sanscrit traduit par Chézy; enfin, le *Bhâgavata-Pourâna*.

Telles sont, je crois, les origines de ces trois visions (le cirque, le cimetière, la forêt); et tels sont leurs rapports logiques avec le reste de l'épisode.

(Continued in the December issue)

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83. P. 85. Flaubert reprend littéralement les mêmes termes.

84. C'est en ces termes que le gymnosophe apostrophe Antoine (p. 85): "*Brakmane des bords du Nil, qu'en dis-tu?*"

85. *Système de Manès*, pp. 443-479. L'article est cité dans la liste bibliographique, p. 302. C'est Matter (iii, 72) qui avait fourni à Flaubert cette référence.

86. *Troisième Mémoire*. On trouve aussi dans la liste bibliographique (p. 302): J. J. Boehmer, *La vie ascétique, contemplative et monastique chez les Indous et chez les peuples bouddhistes*, Strasbourg, 1831. Mais il ne semble pas que Flaubert ait rien tiré de cet ouvrage.

87. Version de 1849, p. 449; version de 1856, p. 619. Dans ces deux versions, le couplet du gymnosophe est placé dans la bouche de Brahma.

88. "Flaubert and India," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, iv, 3-4, 142-150.

## A RECENT FRENCH ADAPTATION OF *LA ESTRELLA DE SEVILLA*

*L'ÉTOILE DE SÉVILLE*,<sup>1</sup> written by Albert Ollivier and performed by the company Théâtre des Quatre-Saisons Provinciales under the direction of Maurice Jacquemont, had its première in Lyon under the patronage of the *Association Jeune France*.<sup>2</sup> Obviously, to stage a drama having its source in *La Estrella de Sevilla*, written probably in 1623,<sup>3</sup> entailed the possibility of failure, but the contrary occurred; an enthusiastic reception was accorded the first performance by the Lyonesse audience. Marc Beigbeder observed of the casting of the actors:

La pièce est belle, très belle. Les acteurs . . . sont bons dans l'ensemble—en particulier Balacheff dans le rôle du valet; certains paraissent un peu manquer de métier ou seulement de travail. Peut-être quelques-uns (comme Maurice Jacquemont, dont le jeu est en finesse) n'étaient-ils pas faits pour le rôle qu'on leur avait choisi. Je m'en suis à peine aperçu, tant la mise en scène était remarquable et l'intrigue tendue.<sup>4</sup>

The plot was undoubtedly deemed of significant import in those trying days of German occupation, and so, heartened by the successful run in Lyon, the troupe presented *L'Etoile de Séville* many times during 1941 on its tour to other cities in what was then unoccupied France and in Tunisia and Algeria:

Au cours de son voyage, la troupe s'arrêtera à Vichy pour participer à la saison du Casino des fleurs. Outre *George Dandin* elle y reprendra *L'Etoile de Séville*, d'Albert Ollivier, dont une longue tournée en zone libre n'a pas épuisé le succès.<sup>5</sup>

Ollivier in his adaptation writes "d'après Lope de Vega," thus accepting without question the attribution of authorship to Spain's most

1. The text is printed in *Esprit, Revue Internationale*, 9<sup>th</sup> year, 1941, April, pp. 373-390; May, pp. 488-505; June, pp. 570-593. Marc Beigbeder's brief account and critique of the première is found on pp. 425-426 of the April issue.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 425.

3. Internal evidence seems to indicate that the year of composition of *La Estrella* was 1623. See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, "La Estrella de Sevilla es de Lope de Vega," *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, 1930, vii, 20-21; Sturgis E. Leavitt, *The "Estrella de Sevilla" and Claramonte*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, pp. 19-27; C. E. Anibal, "Observations on *La Estrella de Sevilla*," *Hispanic Review*, 1934, ii, 1-38, *passim*.

4. *Esprit*, p. 425.

5. *Le Temps*, August 19, 1941, p. 3, col. 7. The play, together with Molière's *George Dandin*, was also given in Cannes in the theatre of the Casino Municipal on November 6, 7, 8, and 9. See *Le Figaro*, October 27, 1941, p. 2, col. 8; October 30, 1941, p. 2, col. 7. Theatrical notices from Africa in early December disclose that "Le Théâtre des Quatre-Saisons Provinciales poursuit sa tournée à travers la Tunisie et l'Algérie en donnant *George Dandin*, de Molière, et *L'Etoile de Séville*, d'Albert Ollivier, d'après Lope de Vega." *Ibid.*, December 5, p. 4, col. 6.

prolific dramatist.<sup>6</sup> This most recent adaptation is based upon Eugène Baret's work (published for the first time in 1869),<sup>7</sup> the most accurate and complete translation into French of the *suelta* or shorter version (2503 verses) of *La Estrella de Sevilla*.<sup>8</sup> The statement that the *suelta* is the ultimate source can be readily verified by noting: (first) that Ollivier took no material from the 526 verses not included in the shorter version and (second) that the slave-girl bears the name Mathilde—she is Matilde in the *suelta* but Natilde in the *arrachement*.

Ollivier recasts the original plot of *La Estrella de Sevilla* with rare skill, manifesting a sympathetic, sensitive understanding of the spirit and ideals glorified in the Spanish *comedia* of the seventeenth century. The adaptation in modern attire—like the original—is a document of protest and condemnation against injustices perpetrated by ruthless tyrants, thus offering a theme particularly applicable to our times. The principal characters, who make *La Estrella* pre-eminently a drama of youth, still serve as effective symbols. The fine intrigue remains

6. Recent investigations cast much doubt on all the arguments which have been advanced to prove Lope's authorship. For controversial discussions concerning this problem, see: *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Madrid, 1899, ix, xxxv-xxxvi; *La Estrella de Sevilla*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue Hispanique*, 1920, xlviii, 530-533; Anita Lenz, "Zu einer Neuauflage der *Estrella de Sevilla*," *ZRP*, 1923, xliii, 92-108; Aubrey F. G. Bell, "The Author of *La Estrella de Sevilla*," *Revue Hispanique*, 1923, lix, 296-300, "Who was Cardenio?", *The Modern Language Review*, 1929, xxiv, 67-72, and "The Authorship of *La Estrella de Sevilla*," *The Modern Language Review*, 1931, xxvi, 97-98; Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-24; Leavitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-96; Leavitt O. Wright, *The -Ra Verb Form in Spain* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology), 1932, xv, 7, 95, 100-101; Anibal, *op. cit.*; *Obras dramáticas escogidas de Lope de Vega*, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez, Madrid, 1934-1935, II, xxv-xxvi, and IV, v-xxi; Leo Spitzer, "Die *Estrella de Sevilla* und *Claramonte*," *ZRP*, 1934, liv, 533-588; *La Estrella de Sevilla*, notes and vocabulary by F. O. Reed and E. M. Dixon and introduction by J. M. Hill, New York, 1939, pp. xiii-xix; S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Comedias*, New York, 1940, pp. 284-285.

7. The text used for this study is found in *Œuvres dramatiques de Lope de Vega*, traduction d'Eugène Baret, deuxième édition, Paris, 1874, I, 8-62. The proof that Baret's translation was the immediate source used by Ollivier can be established through comparison of corresponding passages found on the following pages: Baret, pp. 26-27, Ollivier, pp. 383-385; Baret, p. 29, Ollivier, p. 388; Baret, pp. 32-35, Ollivier, pp. 490-494; Baret, pp. 43-44, Ollivier, pp. 501-502; Baret, pp. 47-48, Ollivier, pp. 571-573; Baret, pp. 59-60, Ollivier, pp. 587-588.

8. For accounts of the various translations and adaptations into English and French, the history of the play in Spain and abroad, and a minute comparison of the two old texts extant—the fragment or *arrachement* (ff. 99-120, with leaves 117 and 118 missing) taken from a volume of plays and the *suelta* or separate edition (16 leaves), both dating from the seventeenth century—see editions: Menéndez y Pelayo, xxxv-lxxvi; Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-520; H. Thomas, Oxford, 2nd edition, 1930, ix-x, xxiii-xxv; Reed, Dixon, Hill, ix-xii, xxxv-xxxviii; Camille le Senne et Guillot de Saix, *Lope de Vega, L'Etoile de Séville*, Paris, 1912; Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-24; Louis de Viel-Castel, *Essai sur le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1882, I, 43-74; J. P. W. Crawford, "An Early Nineteenth-Century English Version of *La Estrella de Sevilla*," in *Homenaje a Bonilla y San Martín*, Madrid, 1930, II, 495-505. Inasmuch as the Thomas edition, a reprint of the *suelta*, has the verses numbered, its numeration will be followed whenever referring to the lines of *La Estrella*.

simple, avoiding complications arising from secondary plots or too many characters. The episodes continue to unfold with the inevitability of fate. The exposition, already extremely good in *La Estrella*, is perhaps improved by pruning several scenes. All of the most impressive scenes are, nevertheless, retained, including those with the portents of disaster. The effective and reasonable *dénouement* is also kept. The unity of action is obeyed. The duration of the action is reduced by a few hours. The settings, all confined to Seville, are: street scenes, Busto's home, the royal palace, the Triana Prison, and an arid field. There is little attempt to give atmosphere or local color. *L'Etoile*, just as its source, pays scanty attention to special dress or costume, merely indicating that the king, the night of the attempted seduction, had his face muffled in his cape, a stock accessory in the *comedia*.

Albert Ollivier introduced many changes into his adaptation. *L'Etoile* contains even less data than *La Estrella* for fixing the approximate date of the action. The references to famous buildings and historical personages are either reduced to an absolute minimum or omitted entirely. In the Spanish original there is no prologue to put the audience in the proper state of mind, while creating at the same time a bit of atmosphere and disclosing the setting for the action. As a consequence, it is possible to dispense with the dialogue in which the king expresses appreciation for the cordial welcome accorded him by Seville, to omit the allusions to the splendor of the city together with its various female beauties. It is felt, moreover, that there is no need for the ruler's cultistic expressions of admiration for Estelle, the identification of her brother, the scheme to place him under obligation, the audiences granted to Gonzalo de Ulloa and Fernán Pérez de Oliva (aspirants to the command of the border region around Archidona), the offer of this post to Busto and his nonacceptance, his appointment as court chamberlain, and the promise of the king to select a husband for Estelle (*La Estrella*, Act I, lines 1-434; Baret, Act I, scenes 1-4).<sup>9</sup> Thus the first scene of the French play, a dialogue between Busto and Sanche (pages 374-377), starts with the assumption that the monarch, having seen Estelle on the balcony, has already summoned Busto and offered the military appointment which

9. Cándido María Trigueros in his adaptation *Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas*, (Madrid, 1800), abridged even more the exposition, divulging through narration in the opening scene, pp. 13-18, that the king had no success in his efforts to place Busto under obligations by the offer of high positions and a visit to the Tabera home, that the attempted entrance into Estrella's bedchamber failed, that the slave-girl was found slain, and finally that Sancho Ortiz has been ordered to report to the royal palace for an audience, i.e., practically all of the action in the first half of *La Estrella* (Act I and Act II, ll. 1-307). Trigueros in the *Advertencia*, pp. 3-4, remarks that the action of *La Estrella* is overloaded and "comenzó . . . antes de lo necesario."

was declined (content corresponding to *La Estrella*, Act 1, lines 502-565 and Baret, pages 17-18, giving, however, more emphasis to the brother's suspicions). The scene between Sanche and Estelle, extremely imaginative and poetic in *L'Etoile* (scene 3, pages 378-379), bears no resemblance to the lyric passage which comes earlier in the Spanish original (Act 1, lines 435-494; Baret, pages 15-16), preceding the above mentioned dialogue between the two men. The lacayesque conversation which Clarindo holds with Mathilde, a parody of the lovers' speeches in *La Estrella* (Act 1, lines 469-472, 474-479; Baret, page 16) becomes much more natural with the servant inviting the slave-girl to a rendezvous that night for a drink and her nervousness for fear he will not leave before the king's arrival (*L'Etoile*, scene 5, pages 380-381). The monarch's visit to Busto's home with the feigned purpose of seeing his vassal, Don Arias' ineffectual effort to win Estelle's favor for the king by offering riches and a grandee for a husband, the closing of the bargain with the slave-girl who in exchange for freedom and money will make the arrangements for the ruler's call that night, the conversation in the palace which communicates the news that Busto has been given a key to the royal chamber, and, finally, Don Arias' report of his success in bribing the slave-girl (*La Estrella*, lines 590-775, i.e., to the end of Act 1; Baret, Act 1, scenes 6-8) are all excluded from the adaptation. Beginning with scene six of *L'Etoile* (page 381), the dialogue in the remainder of Act 1 has at times entire speeches taken from Baret's translation of Act II of *La Estrella*. Slight innovations consist in Busto's reflections concerning the ruler's conception of honor; the slave-girl's significant words about her longing for liberty; the king's desire to chastise Busto, felling him as he would a fighting bull; and the drunken Clarindo's brief soliloquy relative to the dawn.

In Act II Ollivier begins to alter the content much more, frequently expanding and changing the dialogue, although scenes one and three (pages 501-502 and 570-573) come to be almost virtual word by word reproductions of Baret's translation (pages 43-44 and 46-48; *La Estrella*, Act III, lines 1-54, 155-288). Differences introduced into the first three scenes are: an inkling of the remorse starting to trouble the king for his part in crucifying a friendship unknown to him; Estelle's aggressiveness in demanding that the prisoner be delivered to her; the monarch's reluctance in complying with the traditional usage of releasing the assassin to the woman wronged and his plea that she show clemency; and, finally, the suppression of the words sung by the musicians summoned to Triana Prison. From scene five on there rarely

appear phrases taken directly from Baret's translation. Modifications noted in scene four (pages 573-578) much improve the hell conceived by Sanche: the punishment meted out to the miserly rich and the women damned for their sins, the road paved with good intentions, a different torture for the proud and haughty, the more realistic device of having Clarindo substitute for Honor in responding to Sanche, who speaks both parts in the Spanish original. Sanche recognizes Estelle immediately in the person of his veiled benefactress. She reveals that she knows who gave the order to slay her brother and faces the fact that they must live separated forever. Don Arias, in scene six of *L'Etoile* (pages 582-584), manifests a better understanding of the *alcaldes'* unswerving devotion to justice. In keeping with modern ideas there is no mention of appeasing Estelle by marrying her to a grandee, nor does Pedro de Caus, the prison warden, come to the king to report of Estelle's call and Sanche's insistence in being allowed to re-enter his cell. During the interview in the palace, scene seven (pages 584-586), which is concerned with the debate over clemency, the presentation of the death sentence recommended for Sanche is not delayed by having the king try to obtain a commutation to banishment through the subterfuge of flattering privately in turn Don Pedro and Farfán. In scene eight (pages 586-588) Estelle, before Sanche puts in his appearance, defends so warmly her act of leniency that the astounded Don Pedro exclaims: "Mais ce n'est plus une défense de Sancho Ortiz, c'est sa complice qui parle!"<sup>10</sup> When Don Pedro, after hearing Sanche's declaration that he acted in compliance with a written order, still asks for proof, Estelle's glance of reproach and statement that the proof is not far distant have a part in causing the monarch to confess that he in reality is the guilty one. The corresponding passage in the original brings out that the king's admission of responsibility for the crime follows Farfán's speech upholding Seville's claim to the prisoner. Scenes nine and ten (pages 588-593), expanded greatly in length over the rapid conclusion of *La Estrella* (Act III, lines 837-882; Baret, pages 61-62), pass over in silence Sanche's petition that he be rewarded now with the promised wife Estelle.

In character delineation the adaptation follows rather closely, except in a few cases, the models found in *La Estrella*; but in general the principal figures are more human and natural in their speech and reactions. Only passing reference is made to Don Gonzalo d'Ulloa and Pérez de Medina, the two applicants for the command of Archidona. Neither the warden Pedro de Caus nor the courtier Íñigo Osorio have

10. *L'Etoile*, p. 587.



rôles in *L'Etoile*. The stage directions call for Don Manuel, another courtier, to appear for a moment at Busto's doorway; Don Manuel later announces to the king that Estelle is in the palace awaiting an audience. The alcaldes, Don Pedro and Don Farfán, although on the stage less often than in the Spanish work, retain the distinguishing marks of their prototypes: they are the same noble, dignified public officials whose one aim is to see that justice is done, tilting the scales neither to the right nor to the left because of censure or compassion. The slave-girl in both plays is prompted by a single desire, the overwhelming yearning for freedom. Arias is the same despicable and iniquitous character of the Spanish version. Estelle, as the titles to the original and adaptation imply, motivates the plot. Without her there would be no play. More imaginative and given to reveries in *L'Etoile*, Estelle dreams of flowers, sunsets, and her future happiness as Sanche's wife. Her speeches become at times much more beautifully poetic and fanciful than the corresponding passages of *La Estrella*. Whenever present, Estelle heightens the dramatic effect of the scene. Busto in both pieces personifies the idealized, rigorous, stern, uncompromising sense of honor as conceived in seventeenth-century Spain.<sup>11</sup>

Ollivier, although not having the king appear till the scene of the attempted seduction and failing to identify him as Sancho el Bravo, portrays with more minuteness the different sides of his nature. In an interview with Sanche, he makes a self-analysis, manifesting a knowledge of youth's temptations, while taking cognizance of the fact that he is self-indulgent and hence does not possess the splendid detachment which comes to aged chiefs of state. In a fatherly—not kingly manner—he admonishes Sanche against revolt, observing that one cannot cut life to one's own pattern. He disavows fear in answer to the young man's charge, brings up the matter of a subject's loyalty to the state, and offers to let Estelle sit as judge of his acts. He really feels deep compassion for the two lovers. The king in *L'Etoile* employs extremely picturesque language full of graphic figures of speech. Generally speaking, the monarch of *L'Etoile* is more human, and hence less sure of him-

11. In the *comedia* the slightest reflection upon a woman's relations with males other than those of her immediate family brought dishonor to the men charged with the responsibility of her conduct—the father or brother before her marriage and the husband afterward. It was not merely a question of the woman being really virtuous, but she must have, moreover, the respect of society; it was indispensable that her reputation be lily white in the public eye, because a man's honor and her good repute were synonymous. The Spanish noble had to take secret vengeance, for an affront to the honor could only be washed clean through shedding blood. Cf. Américo Castro, "Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos xvi y xvii," *Revista de Filología Española*, 1916, III, 19-27; Lope de Vega, "El castigo del discreto" together with a *Study of Conjugal Honor in his Theater*, ed. William L. Fichter, New York, 1925, pp. 59, *passim*.



self because of doubts and misgivings. Don Sanche Ortiz de la Roelas, like his model, is a valiant youth who has won distinction fighting the Moors, and well merits for his exploits the title Cid d'Andalousie. Endowed with more imagination in *L'Etoile* he joyfully builds castles in the air while conversing with Estelle about their future. Also of a more introspective disposition, he tortures himself mentally, wondering whether his problem, the consequence of murdering his friend Busto, has an answer. Youth-like, he once believed that man controls his own destiny. At the end he learns that one cannot always discriminate categorically between the good and bad in human behavior. Don Sanche debates well, skillfully sustaining his points against the best arguments marshaled by the ruler. Ollivier develops much the character of the superstitious Clarindo, although still presenting the *gracioso* as a writer of verses and companion and lackey to Don Sanche. It is Clarindo who furnishes the slight comic relief that interrupts the sober seriousness of the tragedy. In *L'Etoile*, in addition to being more fluent in the expression of poetic ideas, he plays a rôle of much more import. His poetic utterances, some of the best in the tragedy, make it extremely effective to have him appear alone on the stage or to speak toward the end of a scene. In servant fashion he asks for a night off to celebrate the king's arrival at Seville. He flirts with Mathilde in a normal manner, not parodying his master's words in the conventional lacayesque diction used in *La Estrella*. Acting the chorus' part of Greek tragedy, Clarindo recites the prologue and final words of *L'Etoile*.

*La Estrella* is primarily a drama of action, of rapid movement, whereas *L'Etoile* poses not only the questions of love, sacrifice, honor, justice, and the divine right of kings (together with their obligations), but also introduces other ideas which engross the mind. Busto maintains that honor and happiness are inseparably joined. Act II contains practically all the interesting comments and arguments relative to human grandeur, clemency, woman's influence, the dead's presence with the living. Don Arias comments that grandeur is more completely appreciated when it appears mutilated: "Si elle [la grandeur] était intacte, elle vous frapperait moins, peut-être. C'est crucifiée que la grandeur prend sa pleine valeur."<sup>12</sup> The monarch speaks words of real significance concerning clemency: "La clémence est haïssable, lorsqu'elle est faiblesse ou qu'elle feint l'oubli. Elle est bonne lorsqu'elle se confond avec une juste pesée des mérites et des fautes."<sup>13</sup> Don Sanche, disgusted with female wantonness, phobias, intuitions, and genius for complicating

12. *L'Etoile*, p. 502.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

matters, argues with Clarindo as to woman's power, the former maintaining that females hinder the world's advance while the latter shows himself less biased and more reasonable in assuming the attitude that male and female are equally guilty in their sin. Estelle believes that our dead are ready to come at our beck and call, that their presence is felt constantly, and that, because of their death, we attribute to them qualities which would be denied if they were alive. The king—although impelled in part by a selfish, personal impulse—stresses to the justices their obligation to hand down decisions based not upon one point but giving due consideration to all, balancing the accused party's past conduct against his crime.

An undertone of tragedy runs throughout the exposition of *L'Etoile*, gathering volume and intensity until the plot reaches its climax. The action, as is learned from the prologue, begins at nightfall in an atmosphere charged with disquieting notes of coming misfortune. The first words spoken in the play imply uneasiness in Busto's manner. The chance mention of the king breaks off the lyrical dialogue between the two lovers. Busto, returning home unusually early, exclaims with a premonition of some untoward happening: "Décidément le sommeil s'est abattu sur ma maison comme un oiseau de proie."<sup>14</sup> After his royal master's escape, he bitterly remarks: "Pour ce roi il n'y a d'honneur qu'à titre posthume, on le décerne quand on l'a tué."<sup>15</sup> Clarindo's soliloquy on the unpleasant aspect of daybreak further accentuates this feeling of impending doom. Busto, conversing with his sister about the events of the preceding night observes: "Je suis maintenant un homme traqué. Le Roi va vouloir se venger."<sup>16</sup>

Critics almost unanimously agree that the diction of *La Estrella* falls below the high standard attained in character delineation and plot construction.<sup>17</sup> The style of *L'Etoile*, on the contrary, is of a superior quality: first because of gain in beauty of language, secondly because of richness in poetic imagery, and thirdly because of several vivid de-

14. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 490.

17. Written during the period under Góngora's influence, the dramatist at times abused the stylistic convention of transposing word order—frequently having recourse to chiasmus—employed to excess cultistic metaphors pertaining to the heavens, played on the literal and figurative meanings of words, introduced antitheses, hyperboles and oxymorons—not always too happy in the use of ingenious subtleties—and alluded to numerous historical, classical, and mythological subjects. The play is mediocre in versification, with a noticeable poverty in rhyme. For expressions of opinion respecting the style of *La Estrella*, see editions Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-525; Bell, "The Author of *La Estrella de Sevilla*," pp. 296-300; Leavitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94; Anibal, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

scriptions. The dialogue in French at times takes on a more spontaneous air, there being few examples of euphuistic elegance and none of conceptistic obscurity. For example, scene twelve, marked by guilelessness and sincerity on the part of the brother and sister, is not disfigured by the affected astronomical metaphors employed in *La Estrella* (Act II, lines 309-311, 337-339, 349). The practice of inserting *frases hechas* or proverbs, either quoted or alluded to in *La Estrella*, is not followed by the French dramatist. Scene five of Act II of *L'Etoile*, abounding in sentiment and sincerity and containing a frank discussion by the lovers, who attempt to appraise their situation, excels the mediocre passage in Act III, lines 411-500, of the original with its delayed recognition of Estelle and choppy conclusion. In the scene of renunciation the tragedy reaches a spiritual climax which excites the reader's compassion. Ollivier in the final scene inadvertently fails to indicate where the alcaldes and Clarindo re-enter.

The lyrical passages in the adaptation rise to the realm of charming poetry. As an example of fanciful imagery and finely drawn verbal-pictures, there comes to mind the scene in which Sanche and Estelle describe the life they hope to lead when happily wed.<sup>18</sup> Ollivier in his more spontaneous images makes use of birds, woman, night, dawn, card games, bullfighting, death, flowing water, the chase, the house, and weighing and balancing. Estelle, at Busto's resolution to marry her that day to Sanche, finds expression for her future happiness in the symbol of a beautiful white bird:

Sur les rayons de l'aurore sont venus deux oiseaux. L'un au plumage noir et je l'ai renvoyé; l'autre, blanc comme un oiseau de Paradis, et je l'ai gardé pour le caresser à mon aise.<sup>19</sup>

The heroine, fully cognizant after her brother's death of the futility of struggling against the turn of events, implies in a metaphorical concept that love is something greater and more durable than life itself:

Nous ne pouvons remonter le courant qui nous entraîne. Il est trop fort. Il nous reste pour surnager, cette petite chose de rien du tout, l'amour. Ne l'écarte pas.<sup>20</sup>

Don Sanche conveys in a finely drawn image, derived from the chase, the flight of happiness: "Je croyais tenir le bonheur, mais si dure que se soit faite ma mâchoire à la prise, elle m'a échappé."<sup>21</sup> His emotion,

18. *L'Etoile*, pp. 378-379.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 490.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 495.

on hearing Estelle's name pronounced, is transmitted through images, allied, yet quite different in effect:

Rien qu'un doux prénom, et il a suffi pour changer la couleur du monde, pour faire refluer l'amour au plus sensible de mon cœur. Léger comme un souffle de vent, il a suffi pour m'éveiller comme au sortir d'un mauvais songe, suffi pour qu'il fasse jour dans mon âme.<sup>22</sup>

Sanche, torn between duty to king and his love for Estelle and friendship for Busto, uses a vivid metaphor to manifest what his native land means to him: "Ma patrie à moi, c'est l'amour et l'amitié, c'est une maison gardée par deux lévriers blancs."<sup>23</sup> Standing miserable and disillusioned over Busto's corpse, he bitterly comments on the code of honor: "Voilà où mènent une rigueur outrée et ces scrupules d'honneur qui empoisonnent les hommes."<sup>24</sup> In answer to Clarindo's observation that life without women would forfeit its piquancy, he retorts:

La vie est bien assez épineuse comme cela. Si leur fonction est d'être ronces et épines, qu'on les brûle au feu éternel, qu'elles deviennent un buisson ardent et l'on verra quelle face surgira des flammes.<sup>25</sup>

In despair at losing Estelle forever, he conceives of destiny as "cette femelle toujours prête à vous servir d'excuse ou de justification."<sup>26</sup>

Mathilde draws an analogy between her life and "La pauvre épave/Ballotée de tout temps."<sup>27</sup> Liberty draws her "comme un abîme."<sup>28</sup> Busto, dying, says death has stalked him silently, ever drawing nearer: "La mort avec sa face de déshonneur s'était levée, et me suivait sans bruit. Je la sentais sur mes pas, à chaque heure gagnant du terrain."<sup>29</sup> Clarindo, speaking of the Tabera household opines: "Cette maison est déjà bourrée, pourrie de rêves."<sup>30</sup> The king, in a striking metaphor, draws an unattractive picture of what, he says, is the *alcaldes'* conception of order: "Je le vois bien, l'ordre, pour vous, c'est une maison à façade soigneusement blanchie et dont l'intérieur est laissé à l'abandon et à la vermine."<sup>31</sup> He adjures Sanche not to be led on by revolt's seductive charms: "Ne vous laissez pas entraîner dans la révolte, si séduisante qu'elle soit avec son masque de fierté et ses armes de guerre."<sup>32</sup>

22. *Ibid.*, p. 592.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 495.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 575.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 590.

But the dominating image, the one most elaborately drawn and leaving the most clearcut impression is taken from the bullfight. Ollivier, who undoubtedly has witnessed with intense absorption the struggle to the death between man and brute, recurs several times to the metaphor, Busto being identified with the bull which meets its master in the ring:

*Le Roi.* Il m'est facile de leurrer Tabera, de l'affoler et de le tuer quand je voudrai, à la place que j'aurai choisie, comme un taureau de combat.

*Don Arias.* Prenez garde, c'est un taureau dangereux.

*Le Roi.* Cela ne me déplaît point.

*Don Arias.* Majesté, vous n'avez pas le droit de descendre dans l'arène, la poussière et le sang pour un homme aussi méprisable.<sup>33</sup>

The king, deadly serious in his desire for vengeance upon discovering the slave-girl's body dangling from a palace grating, pictures the bullfight quite in detail, making use of two apt comparisons:

Brave taureau, tu fonces sur ce papier comme sur un morceau d'étoffe rouge, tu enornes cette grille comme cheval de picador, mais tu ignores l'estocade qui pliera tes genoux orgueilleux et te fera mordre la poussière pour toujours.<sup>34</sup>

Sanche has always wanted to control his life and love in the same way that one masters a bull:

J'ai toujours voulu avoir la main sur ma vie, sur mon honneur, sur mon amour, comme on prend un taureau par les cornes pour le maîtriser. Les cornes tremblent, secouant vos poings, et il faut continuer de serrer, garder les muscles bas.<sup>35</sup>

The excellent descriptions in *L'Etoile* are primarily concerned with nightfall and dawn and the appearance of hell. In the *Avant-Rideau* graphic images picture the slow-moving, gradual conquest of day by night:

La nuit, lentement, s'empare de Séville. Pas à pas l'ombre feutrée se glisse dans les faubourgs, remonte les rues, inonde les places et gagne les palais. La main du joueur de guitare est touchée à son tour, et le chant flotte indécis, ne sachant où se poser. Bientôt la chaude irrigation des nuits d'été atteindra ces lieux et fera couler en nos veines sa fièvre subtile.<sup>36</sup>

In another place, seeking to manifest the night's charm, Ollivier writes: "Elle [la nuit] est belle, oui, et mystérieuse comme une aurore."<sup>37</sup>

33. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 590.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

Estelle in desperation compares her black lot with a winter night: "Et le monde se referme sur moi comme une nuit d'hiver, froide et noire."<sup>38</sup> In the episode occurring in hell the playwright calls up various misshapen figures in remarkably graphic verbal-pictures:

Alors passons. Vous ne subirez pas l'enlaidissement des orgueilleux. Tous ceux qui étaient infatués de leur intelligence, les voici avec une face de poisson et un crâne de singe, réduits aux balbutiements des idiots. Tous ceux qui tiraient de la beauté de leur corps un hausse-col, les voici tordus, ventrus, bossus, devant des miroirs qui renvoient leur hideuse image de toute éternité.<sup>39</sup>

Several striking antitheses and balance in sentence structure add vigor and variety to the style of *L'Etoile*:

*Don Sanche.* Ceux-là, je les connais avec leur merveilleux refuge: avoir de la bonne volonté, cela dispensait d'avoir de la volonté tout court.<sup>40</sup>

*Estelle.* Nous sommes trop éloignés et trop proches l'un de l'autre pour que la mort puisse nous mettre à bonne distance.<sup>41</sup>

*Don Farfan.* Noble il l'était. Il ne l'est plus. Le passé ne prévaut point contre le présent.

*Don Pedro.* Nous devons juger les hommes par leurs actions et non les actions par les hommes.<sup>42</sup>

*Don Pedro.* Si nous ne châtions pas ceux qui tuent de tels hommes, qui châtierions-nous?

*Le Roi.* A cela je puis vous répondre: si nous ne sauvons pas des hommes tels que Sancho Ortiz, qui sauverons-nous?

*Don Pedro.* Nous n'avons pas à sauver, nous avons à condamner les criminels.<sup>43</sup>

*Estelle.* Aujourd'hui nous sommes libres l'un de l'autre et prisonnier de nous-mêmes. Prisonniers à vie.<sup>44</sup>

Albert Ollivier found in *La Estrella* a moving plot, excellent dramatic situations, a spirited heroine, a noble hero, and an infatuated king. All these elements he retains, together with the background of an idealized society, devout in faith, loyal to ruler, and placing excessive importance on the point of honor. Much of the dialogue in Act I, particularly from scene six to the end, and in Act II, scenes one and three, comes directly from Eugène Baret's accurate translation of *La Estrella*. By omitting a number of scenes, avoiding in later speeches the repetitious accounts of what has previously transpired, and dropping out several minor figures

38. *Ibid.*, p. 501.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 584.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 592.

from the *dramatis personae*, the action of Act I is so compressed that it covers the same ground as Acts I and II of *La Estrella*. On the other hand, Act II of *L'Etoile* is much expanded over Act III of the Spanish original. With one exception the sequence of scenes is preserved throughout the adaptation. A better conceived hell appears in the French version. The attempt by the king to win a commutation of the death sentence through subterfuge has prudently been discarded. The dialogues become more spontaneous, there being no forced, conceptistic ornamentation and only a few cultistic expressions to mar an otherwise extremely well-written play. Some characters become more complex, given more to reasoning and self-analysis. The principal changes in character portrayal are noted in Estelle, the king, and Clarindo. The heroine, more aggressive in the monarch's presence, expresses herself in beautifully poetic diction in the lyric passages. More sides of the ruler's nature come to light, although he is never designated by the name Sancho el Bravo. We hear him discuss frankly the problems confronting him in private and public life; he recognizes in the *alcaldes* the right to sit in judgment on his royal acts, even though they are not able to exact punishment; he debates well with both the justices and Sanche. Clarindo has a rôle of much importance; he recites some of the best speeches, while continuing to supply the rare traces of humor in the play. *L'Etoile* tends to moralize somewhat from Act II, scene four, to the end, thereby assuming more the form of a drama of ideas and slowing down somewhat the rapid succession of events in *La Estrella*. *L'Etoile de Séville*, although having undergone so great a transformation, still possesses the indisputable interest which distinguishes the Spanish masterpiece.<sup>45</sup>

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45. Unimportant typographical errors have been noted in two places: *Le Roi* for *Don Arias* and *Ortiz* for *Ortiz* (as printed elsewhere) in the middle of p. 389, and *Don Pedro* for *Don Arias* in the directions at the top of p. 571.



## REFLECTIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

JULIEN BONFANTE is to be thanked for having brought forward again, in these days of current emphasis on intensely practical language studies, the important historical question of the origin of the Romance languages.<sup>1</sup>

Are these languages, he asks, a product of the decomposition of Imperial and Christian Latin, or did they begin to arise at the time of the various Roman colonizations? It is essential that this question be answered, he points out, because a 1000-year linguistic period is involved. If the former hypothesis is valid, a fairly unified Latin was spoken over the entire Latin domain from the Punic Wars to the time of Charlemagne; if the latter, proto-Romance tongues were in existence from the end of the first Punic War, increasing in number and variety with each new advance of the Roman legions. The fact that today, in spite of easy communications and widespread education, there is an infinite variety of French, Italian, German and Slavic dialects, says Bonfante, is indirect evidence that an even greater variety must have existed at a time when communications were primitive and illiteracy widespread.

The author might have added English to his list of highly dialectalized tongues; the English of Britain, not the English of the United States, a country which in many respects resembles the ancient Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

For the commercial, political, and, consequently, linguistic importance of what Bonfante calls "primitive means of communication" he may be referred to a historian of the Latin language, G. Devoto<sup>3</sup>

1. *Renaissance*, 1, 4 (1943), 573-588.

2. See my *Italian Language* (New York, 1941), p. 15, for this comparison. R. A. Hall, Jr., reviewing this work in *Language*, xix, 3 (1941), 267, erroneously states that I claim "an absolute Pre-Romance unity (which is wrongly compared to a supposed absolute unity of American English) lasting all through the time of the Empire and much later." This is what I actually say: "the linguistic conditions prevailing in the western portion of the Empire at the time of its greatest extent resembled not so much those of modern European countries as those of present-day United States—general linguistic standardization, a few local peculiarities in the unassimilated backwoods corresponding to our immigrant dialects, a few local differences of intonation and vocabulary corresponding to our southern, New England, and western traits, and a widespread tendency toward slang and raciness of language; rather than clear-cut 'Gaulish,' 'Iberian,' 'Oscan' or 'African' Latin, or a universal spoken 'Vulgar Latin' in direct contrast with an artificial, literary 'classical Latin' used solely by the writers." Mutual comprehensibility and general standardization are not synonymous with "absolute linguistic unity."

3. G. Devoto, *Storia della lingua di Roma*, Bologna, 1940; see also Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, v, 11, for the interchange of goods, money and people that took place by means of the Roman roads.

while for his allusion to "l'instruction publique à peu près nulle, l'analphabétisme régnant" the ancient writers cited by Mohl<sup>4</sup> and Budinszky<sup>5</sup> are enlightening. The fact that there were popular, plebeian schools in Rome and Italy from the days of the Etruscan kings to the end of the Republic,<sup>6</sup> and in all the provinces under the Empire<sup>7</sup> and even after the fall of the Empire,<sup>8</sup> and the existence of the government-endowed *grammatici* instituted in the later days of the Empire in all towns and hamlets,<sup>9</sup> are of considerable interest, particularly when we recall that our own system of modern education is less than a century old, and that widespread illiteracy was the norm in the countries of Europe down to the Napoleonic Wars and beyond.

An interesting comparison is established by the author. The Latin language, he tells us, resembles a river along whose course several canals are cut. The river's water, pure near the source, picks up various impurities as it goes along. Each of the intersecting canals will receive water contaminated by the impurities previously absorbed. By the time the stream reaches the sea it will have acquired its maximum of impurities. This stream, in Bonfante's concept, is the Latin language. The countries of earliest colonization are the first intersecting canals; their language is purer, closer to the original Latin; later colonizations carry more impurities, *i.e.*, more numerous and glaring linguistic changes. The stream that finally reaches the sea, charged with assorted impurities, is Italian, the direct continuator of Latin. This means that Italian should diverge from Classical Latin to a greater degree than any of the other Romance languages. Does Mr. Bonfante seriously hold that Italian diverges from Latin more than Spanish or French?<sup>10</sup>

This "chronological" theory of Romance development is, of course, far from new. As Bonfante points out, it was first advanced by Gröber in 1884.<sup>11</sup> It was, as he says, "presque totalement oubliée ensuite," and for very good reasons. If there is anything that serious chronological

4. G. Mohl, *Introduction à la chronologie du latin vulgaire*, Paris, 1899.

5. A. Budinszky, *Die Verbreitung der lateinischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1881, pp. 104-108.

6. Livy, III, 44; IX, 36; Pliny the Younger, *Epist.*, IV, 13; Seneca, *Ep.*, 88; Plautus, *Mercat.*, II, 2, 32; Horace, *Ep.*, I, XX, 17; Quintilian, I, XXVII, 1; I, II, 4; Macrobius, *Saturn.*, I, 12; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 42.

7. Plutarch, *Sertor.*, 14; Livy, XLIII, 3; Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 43; Eumenius, *Oratio pro instaur. schol.*, 3; Suetonius, *De illustr. gramm.*, 3; Tacitus, *Agricola*, XXI.

8. Gröber, *Archiv für lat. Lex.*, I, 49.

9. *Theodosian Code*, XIII, tit. III, 11.

10. I assume that by "Italian" he means the central variety, more or less coinciding with the literary tongue, rather than the Gallo-Italian or Venetian varieties of the North or the Neapolitan-Abruzzese or Calabrian-Sicilian of the South. It is this central, more or less literary Italian which is, geographically and historically, the most direct continuator of Latin.

11. *Archiv für lat. Lex.*, I (1884), 210 ff.

studies of the Latin language show us, it is that while Latin was indeed changing during the entire period of Roman expansion (as all living languages change), the *rate* of change was relatively slow, and the features of change absolutely insufficient to account for later Romance differentiation.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the fact that change appears throughout definitely acquits the Latin of Classical literature, that of the inscriptions and of the post-Classical texts, of the charge that it is a static, crystallized tongue like the high Wên-li of China or the Classical Arabic of the Koran. A tongue that changes as Latin changed in the pre-Classical, Classical and post-Classical periods is definitely a living, spoken tongue.

The phenomena involved in earlier changes of the Latin language are largely irrelevant from the standpoint of later Romance dialectalization. Inscriptional material and all other evidence at our disposal are equally inconclusive from the standpoint of dialectalization during the Classical period.<sup>13</sup> The consciousness of a linguistic difference between *lingua latina* and *lingua romana rustica* does not appear till the time of Charlemagne.

Bonfante establishes, through the treatment of accented Latin vowels in their various Romance developments and in borrowings by Germanic and Celtic tongues, a threefold chronological series: first, a "Sardinian" stage, reflecting the vocalism of the third century B.C.; second, a "Roumanian" stage, reflecting the vocalism of the first century A.D.; third, a "French-Spanish-Italian" stage, reflecting the vocalism of the fourth century A.D. There is nothing to prevent our acceptance of this principle. But the author should be reminded: first, that it works definitely against the "chronological" theory since by his own admission<sup>14</sup> it would indicate that Iberia and Gaul developed not in accordance with the chronology of conquest, but in accord with innovations coming from Italy; second, that the French-Spanish-Italian stage is reached quite late (no earlier than the fourth century A.D.) if his copious examples of borrowings by the Germanic and Celtic tongues are to be taken into account, for these borrowings reflect, "between the second and the fourth centuries A.D.," a vocalic system in which *ɪ* and *ē*, *ʊ* and *ō*, and even *ǣ* and *ā* are carefully kept distinct.

12. See Devoto, *op. cit.*; R. G. Kent, *The Sounds of Latin*, Baltimore, 1932.

13. See Budinszky, *op. cit.*, K. Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache*, Erlangen, 1882; E. Diehl, *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften*, Bonn, 1910.

14. P. 582: "Il semble donc que les déformations vocaliques qui caractérisent l'italien, l'espagnol et le français n'avaient pas pénétré en Gaule et en Grande-Bretagne au temps de ces emprunts. Ces transformations sont donc, comme la plupart des transformations romanes, d'origine italienne."

The author's discussion of chronology in connection with the fall of final *-s* in Italy and Dacia and its conservation in the western provinces lends itself to other considerations. It is true that final *-s* tends to disappear in many inscriptional forms in the third century A.D.; but the identical widespread fall of final *-s* is also characteristic of the inscriptions of the fourth and third centuries B.C.<sup>15</sup> Should not this *early* fall of final *-s* (later checked by the grammarians) have been reflected in Sardinian and Spanish development if the chronological theory is correct? And does Mr. Bonfante really believe that the legionaries and colonists who went to Dacia after 107 A.D., bringing with them a final *-s*-less tongue,<sup>16</sup> all came from Italy? Were there no Gauls, Spaniards or other non-Italians in Trajan's legions?<sup>17</sup>

If there is one thing which stands out clearly from Bonfante's demonstration, it seems to be that the Latin of Spain, Gaul and Italy held remarkably well together down to the fourth century A.D., and that this universal spoken Latin of the major, contiguous Romance areas had not even advanced to the point of merging *ē* and *ɛ*, *ō* and *u*, or of obliterating Classical quantities.

If the greater conservatism of Sardinia and Dacia with respect to stressed vowels, and such other phenomena as the fall of final *-s* and *-t* are enough to warrant a claim for nascent and separate Romance languages, then we might also be justified in saying that Midwestern [ba:t], [ka:t] for *bought*, *caught*, Bostonese [ka:nt], [ba:θ], for *can't*, *bath*, and the Southern fall of final *-r* vs. its retention in "general" American permit us to speak, at the present time of nascent and separate American languages.

The test of linguistic unity is mutual comprehension. It would be idle to deny the existence of minor linguistic variations in a territory as extensive as the Roman Empire. The question is whether these linguistic variations were of the same nature and extent as the present-day American "dialects," or whether they were the profound, irreconcilable differences occurring between Sicilian and Piedmontese, Norman and Provençal, Castilian, Galician and Catalan. All the evidence adduced so

15. Devoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

16. The fall of final *-s* appears in numerous inscriptions of western as well as eastern Romania; for a few examples which contradict both Bonfante and Carnoy, whom the former cites to the effect that the inscriptions of Spain show fall of final *-s* only at the end of the line, indicating that it is an orthographic abbreviation, see *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, II, 5393; XIII, 2000; XII, 923; and particularly II, 5416 and II, 1876.

17. H. Gooss, *Arch. Vereins siebenb. Landes.*, XII, 1 (1874), 107-166, gives a list of Trajan's auxiliaries, who were for the most part Spaniards, Rhetians and Syrians. Suetonius, *Vespas.*, 6, states that during the reign of Nero the Legio III Gallica moved to Moesia to fight the Dacians.

far, including that presented by Bonfante, is in favor of the former theory. The big linguistic cleavages that mark the Romance world are apparently of a later date—a date that seems to come close to their actual appearance in recorded form.

As for the causes of this conservatism of the Latin tongue even after the Empire's fall, they have been admirably set forth in detail by H. F. Muller.<sup>18</sup> Chief among them are the immense prestige of the former Empire's tongue among the former Empire's populations and the incoming barbarians,<sup>19</sup> and the fact that Latin, adopted as the language of the western Church and of Christianization while the Empire was at the height of its splendor, continued, in spite of all political and social upheavals during the three centuries that followed the Empire's fall, to be the tongue of both Church and Christianization.<sup>20</sup>

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18. "A Chronology of Vulgar Latin," ZRP, Supplement 78, 1929.

19. Mohl, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71.

20. Mohl, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168.

## NEO-GRAMMARIANS AND NEO-LINGUISTS: ITALIAN GUGLIA

ITALIAN *guglia*, *aguglia*, "pinnacle," "obelisk," comes from *agulia* (unstarred) according to Meyer-Lübke, *REW*, 3 (1935), nr. 297, page 23. This strange etymology shows three typical mistakes of the "neo-grammatical" method: first, the reconstruction of a non-existent form (*agulia*, though not starred by Meyer-Lübke, appears nowhere in Classical Latin); second, the investigation of one "language" isolated from the others, with rigid and metaphysical "phonetic laws" as the only help; third, the neglect of the cultural point of view.<sup>1</sup>

The other, secondary hypothesis advanced by Meyer-Lübke (*aculea*) is no better.<sup>2</sup> Obviously, It. *guglia*, *aguglia* (already attested with its modern meaning in Dante and Fra Giordano) cannot be separated from French *aiguille* (Old French *aguille*), which appears several times, in exactly the same sense, in Old French texts (cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfr. Wb.*, 1925, page 216, s. v. *aguille*). The etymology of this word is not doubtful: it is *acūcula* (or *acūcla*), previously attested, though with other meanings, in Latin texts (see *Thesaurus*, s. v.): a correct diminutive of *acus*, of a frequent and well-known type (cf. *genū*: *geniculum* [cf. *Thesaurus*, s. v. *geniculum*]; *colus*: *colucula* > *conucula* [see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, 2, pages 514 f.]; *\*panucula*; *\*ranucula*; *uerū*: *ueruculum*, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

1. The theoretical implications of this note are, of course, those masterfully illustrated by M. Bartoli, *Introduzione alla neolinguistica*, Geneva, 1925, pp. 48 ff.

2. *Aculea* has been proposed by D'Ovidio, *AGItt*, 13 (1892-4), pp. 389 ff., and GG, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 661, 31 (cf. also Baist, GG, 1<sup>1</sup>, p. 697, 23; but see GG, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 888, 23); Diez, *Etym. Wb.* (1887), p. 9, s.v. *aguglia*; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *MSL*, 1 (1868), p. 418. It cannot be accepted, among other reasons, because of the quantity of the *u*: Latin has *acūculus*; see *AGItt*, 13, p. 389; cf. in particular Phaedrus, *App.*, 29, 8, and the Romance forms: Old Bergam. *goio*, Brescian *goi*, Valtell. *göl'*, Abruzz. *guyya* (with metaphonesis); cf. also Ascoli's keen remark in *AGItt*, 13 (1892-94), p. 454: "Per liberarsi di quella dozzina di *l* [= *l'*] apparentemente molesti, bisogna mettere in opera la formidabile invenzione di un *\*aculea* (invenzione non punto richiesta o gradita dal termine francese e meno ancora dal sardo)." Incidentally, the article *aculea* to which Meyer-Lübke refers us in his Wörterbuch, s. v. *agūlia*, does not exist; no. 123 is *acūla*.

3. Besides *\*agulia* and *\*aculea*, other forms which have been proposed are *\*acūla* (Havet, *R*, 3 [1874], n. 2), through the influence of *acūtus*, which the author himself withdrew (*R*, 6 [1877], p. 436, n. 1) in favor of *acūcula*; *\*acucilla* (Ascoli, *AGItt*, 1 [1875], p. 76 n.); *\*aquicula* or *\*aquicula* (Cohn, *Suffixwandlungen*, pp. 237 ff.); *\*aquilia* (C. Nigra, *R*, 31 [1902], p. 301). All these seven forms are starred, or ought to be; they constitute one of the most brilliant "constellations" of the neo-grammarians, to use Bartoli's terminology. Cf. also G. Ebeling, *Aubersee*, Halle d. S. (1895), pp. 138 ff.

The phonology of *aguglia*, *guglia* is what we should expect<sup>4</sup> if the word represents Old French *aguille* (pronounced *agül'* <*acūcula*; cf. Von Wartburg, *Wb.*);<sup>5</sup> the aphaeresis of the initial *a-* in *guglia* is an adaptation to Italian speech-habits (initial stressless *a-* usually drops in Italian). And *agugliata* *gugliata* (cf. *ALS*, 1541), "needle-full," has of course the same origin (cf. OF *aguilliee*). The older Italian form derived from *acūcula*<sup>6</sup> is *agucchia* *gucchia*, whence *agucchiare*, *agucchione*,<sup>7</sup> *aguchiotto*.

The oldest example of (a)*guglia*<sup>8</sup> appears in a bull of Pope Leo IX of the year 1053, where it occurs in the latinized form *Agulia* to indicate the Vatican Obelisk (cf. Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli, *Rassegna illustrata della Esposizione del 1911*, Roma, nr. 5, 1910, page 17); it is also found in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, written about 1142 (cf. *Encicl. ital.*, 29, page 771), in Gothofredus of Viterbo ("dicta fuit *lulia*, sed *populus dicit Agullam*"), born about 1120, and in other authors,<sup>9</sup> among them Gervase of Tilbury (flor. 1211).<sup>10</sup> It is therefore quite clear, as

4. The idea of the Transalpine origin of the development -gli- (and similar ones) for -cl- in Italian, and of the successive local adaptations of this group, has not yet penetrated (in 1935) Meyer-Lübke's *Wb.*<sup>4</sup>; cf. s. v. *bataculare*: "Die it[alienischen] M[und]a[r]ten zeigen z[um] T[eil] den Reflex von -ly-: siz. *badaggyari*, dann -i- statt -a-: tosk. *shadigliare*." It is not difficult to see that these forms are of Gallo-Roman origin; cf. in particular Prov. *badalhar* (and note the It. -d-). Von Wartburg, *Wb.*, s. v. *bataculare*, has nothing to say about Tuscan *shadigliare*. Cf. also *ALS*, 170, and the pertinent remarks of Salvioni, *DLZ*, 33 (1912), p. 12, *RDR*, 4 (1912), p. 201 and Bartsch, *Kr. sb.*, 12 (1909-1910), pp. 129 ff.

5. As for the much discussed modern French pronunciation of *aiguille*, it seems to me (as also to Von Wartburg, *Wb.*, and Bourciez, *Précis hist.*, p. 114, no. 81) that the idea of Foerster, *ZRP*, 3 (1879), p. 515 (influence of the spelling) should not be rejected without careful consideration. The pronunciation of *aiguille* has brought about the modern pronunciation of *aiguillon*, Prov. *aguilhó*, and perhaps also, through Gallo-Roman influence, of Span. *aguijón*.

6. Logudorian *agudza* is the imitation we might expect of Old Italian *aguglia*, on the model *fidza-figlia*.

7. In view of Italian *agucchione* (from *agucchia*) and *aguglione*, I think, contrary to the opinions of Meyer-Lübke and Von Wartburg, that French *aiguillon* should perhaps be a derivative from *aiguille*, even if we do not wish to go back to Körting's \**acūculionem* (since the word may have been formed rather late). Cf. also Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, 3, p. 258.

8. Du Cange, s. v. *agulia*, 2 gives one instance from Octavian of Saint-Gelais (born 1466, died 1502), and three from Christopher Buondelmonti, *Descriptio Constantinopoleos*, written in 1422.

9. I may mention in particular the *Ordo Romanus*, xi, 7 (cf. J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1689, 2, p. 122) where a building near our obelisk (which was then still situated in the Circus of Nero) is called *Domus Aguliae* (with a variant *Auguliae*). This *Ordo* was written by a *Benedictus*, *Beati Petri Canonici*, and was dedicated to Cardinal *Guidoni de Castello* (Guido di Città di Castello), who in 1143 became Pope Celestine II (cf. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, p. 118 and n. 1; also G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione*, Venezia, 1846, p. 182). It is therefore slightly anterior to 1143. The form *Auguliae* is obviously due to "hypercorrection"; cf. Lat. *augustus*, It. *agosto*. Modern Roman *guglia* even today indicates an obelisk; cf., for instance, G. Belli, *Sonetti romaneschi*, ediz. Morandi, Città di Castello, 6 (1906), 38 (year 1831).

10. See also Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, Stuttgart, 1890, 3, pp. 508 ff (Book 6, Chapter 7, nr. 3 at the end); in the English translation by Hamilton, London, 1895, vol. 3, p. 528.



Arturo Graf (*Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, Torino, 1882, page 292) pointed out, that *agulia* is nothing but a latinized form of It. *aguglia*; and that Meyer-Lübke's statement must therefore be inverted: it is not (a) *guglia* which comes from *agulia*, but, on the contrary, *agulia* which comes from *aguglia*.<sup>11</sup>

The semantic application of the word for "needle" to the Vatican Obelisk is fully confirmed, if confirmation is needed, by John Beleth, *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, C. 159, and by passages from two old manuscript chronicles, quoted by Graf, page 293, note 88, where the Vatican Obelisk is called *acus* ("*nunc acus Sancti Petri dicitur*"; "*nunc acus uocatur*"). The second of these Chronicles is by Fra Giordano, a contemporary of Dante.

In the English translation of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* by F. M. Nichols (*The Marvels of Rome*, London and Rome, 1889, page 71) *agulia* is translated by "needle." This word has in modern English both meanings ("*ago*" and "*guglia*"), just as French *aiguille*. From the semantic point of view as well, consequently, *acūcula* is much better than *\*aculea* as a starting-point for *guglia*.

An Old French word in Old Italian needs no special defense, since there are hundreds of them (and many more than is usually believed). The influence of French culture on Italy during the Middle Ages (more precisely from 800 to 1300) has been enormous, in every field of human endeavor: suffice it to note that such words as *giorno*, *mangiare*, *giardino*, *giallo*, *trovare*, *arrivare*, *ciliegia*, *prigione*, *ragione*, *rugiada*, *viaggio*, *formaggio*, etc., are unquestionably of Gallo-Roman origin, as can be easily demonstrated by phonology, documents, and linguistic geography.<sup>12</sup>

In the case of *guglia*, it is interesting to note that in the sense of "needle" the Italian form (*agucchia*, *gucchia*, etc.) lived on side by side with the French one (cf. *gugliata*);<sup>13</sup> whereas in the less familiar meaning of "pinnacle" only the French form is attested.

The connection of *guglia*, *aguglia* with *acūcula* had been correctly

11. This shows how right Bártoli was when he wrote (*Introduzione*, p. 6): "In altri termini si può dire che i neogrammatici sono molto recisi e avventati nelle conclusioni, e che viceversa nelle premesse, o meglio nelle indagini di arce e documenti, essi sono molto meno severi e meno tenaci e meno rudi lavoratori che non i neolinguisti."

12. See on this subject R. R. Bezzola, *Abbozzo di una storia dei gallicismi italiani nei primi secoli (750-1300)*, Heidelberg, 1925: a good book, though incomplete, and with definite neo-grammarians limitations.

13. It is worth noticing that in the *AIS*, map 1541, the word *gugliata* is strictly limited to Tuscany and to Gallura, Sicily and Calabria—the last three being regions in which, as is well known, the influence of literary Italian has been very strong. Map 1539 (*l'ago, gli aghi*), which shows representations of *guglia* in the whole of Sicily (without any exception) and in many points of Calabria, proves that in pre-literary Old Tuscan *guglia*, "needle," was frequent.

pointed out by several authors, among them F. Diez, *Gramm.*,<sup>5</sup> 1, page 5; *Etym. Wb.*<sup>6</sup> (1887), s. v. *aguglia*; W. Foerster, *ZRP*, 3 (1879), page 515; Mussafia, *R*, 2 (1873) page 478, note 2; A. Graf, *op. cit.*, 1, page 292; Gröber, *ALL*, 1 (1884), page 235; Körting, *Wb.*,<sup>7</sup> nr. 144, page 14; A. Hoare, *Ital. Dict.* (1925), s. v. *aguglia*, *guglia*; Tommaseo-Bellini, s. v. *aguglia* and *guglia*; Scartazzini, *Encicl. dantesca*, s. v. *guglia*; Zambaldi, *Vocab.* (1889), s. v.; Havet, *R*, 6 (1877), page 436; Rigutini-Bulle, *Ital. Wb.* (1896), s. v. *guglia*; Bàrtoli, *Misc. Hortis* (1910), page 918. But none of them, as was to be expected (except Bàrtoli), indicated that the word is of French origin.<sup>14</sup>

It is very interesting to observe that the correct etymology of *guglia* is to be found, among other works, in the *Dictionaries* of Tommaseo and Bellini (published in 1861), in that of Diez (translated by Donkin, based on the German edition of 1861), and in Mussafia's article of 1873 cited above. In this case, as in many others, the neo-grammarians showed regression, not progress, as compared with the linguists (and even with the non-linguists!) of the preceding generations.<sup>15</sup>

Bàrtoli was therefore quite right when he wrote, 35 years ago (*Misc. Hortis*, 1910, page 918): "Insomma tutti i problemi della linguistica neolatina, e della linguistica in genere, possono essere affrontati coraggiosamente colle armi neolinguistiche, colle neogrammatiche nessuno."

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14. As for *aguglia*, "eagle" (Dante), the suggestion of D'Ovidio, *GG*, 1, p. 661, 31, at the end, is worthy of serious consideration.

15. The foundation date of the neo-grammarian school is usually considered to be 1876, the year in which A. Leskien published his work *Die Deklination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen*; cf. e.g., I. Iordan, *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, revised, translated and recast by J. Orr, London, 1937, pp. 16 ff.

## REVIEWS

*Anticlaudian, a thirteenth-century French adaptation of the Anticlaudianus of Alain de Lille by Ellebaut.* Edited by Andrew J. Creighton. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1944. Pp. 172.

Two Old French versions of Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus* were provided for lay readers in the Middle Ages. The present text, transmitted to us in a single MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale is here published for the first time in a doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America. The editor has performed his task in an unexceptionable fashion. In a brief introduction he points out the position and importance of Alain, not only as inheritor of late Latin learning, heir of Boethius and Martianus Capella, but also as one of the chief precursors of Dante. Although there is some doubt as to whether the latter knew the *Anticlaudianus*, it is difficult to accept Vossler's categorical statement that he did not.

The editor has also provided a very complete and penetrating study of the Old French adapter's language and style, particularly his phonology and peculiarities of versification. In this latter domain there is an extraordinary richness of complicated sound effects, intricate rhymes, internal rhymes and alliteration which the editor aptly compares to certain practices of the troubadours before our period and of the *Grands Rhétoriciens* of a later century. Considering the background of the adapter, however, comparisons chosen from the field of medieval Latin poetry might have proven at once more rewarding and more valid from the point of view of historical continuity. For Ellebaut, as the adapter names himself in the first line of the poem, is a cleric whose culture is Latin and who wishes to offer the layman the moral instruction to be drawn from Alain's allegorical poem which in its original Latin form is so unattainable "Que ja lais hom n'i verra goute . . ." (v. 9). Ellebaut, however, strays so far from the original text that it is impossible to consider him as a translator. Of this he is himself well aware. He writes "Non mie ainsi que je racont/Tous les diz qui escrit i sont/ . . . Ains i ai mout osté et mis" (v. 13-17). Towards the end of his version he strays off into a long digression which he apparently never finished, and the poem ends abruptly without returning to Alain's original fiction.

Dr. Creighton reproduces the one extant MS with a minimum of well made emendations. In his Commentary he points out the difficulties encountered in the course of the poem and solves many of them. The proposed explanation of v. 2239, however, is not satisfactory. "Qu'il n'orent point de pitié dos" cannot be understood to mean "They did not have merciful backs," i.e. "they wielded their clubs mercilessly," "they beat me mercilessly." The line as it stands makes no acceptable sense at all. One wonders, also, why the editor writes *isnellepas* in v. 233 and *isnel le pas* in v. 234. After v. 459 there should be a period

instead of a comma; the following lines cannot be construed as a separate sentence. Dr. Creighton notes the difficulty in vv. 2204 et ss:

. . . Dame, descendez  
 Por Dieu! et si le amendez  
 Que c'est ne quel malage ele a.

The editor's suggestion that we read the last line *Que ne sai* does not produce a satisfactory reading, whereas if we emend *amendez* to *demandez*, all difficulty disappears and we have a reading in conformity with the author's noted addiction to alliteration.

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*English Translations from the Spanish, 1484-1943. A Bibliography.* By Remigio Ugo Pane. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1944. Pp. 218.

This book lists alphabetically 2682 items which, according to the compiler, comprise "all, or nearly all" of the English translations from the Spanish during a period of over 350 years. In the Introduction Professor Pane alludes to his predecessors in this field—without mentioning them—merely to claim, and rightly, the greater extent of his own list. He undoubtedly owes a debt to such useful works as A. B. and N. B. Adams, *Contemporary Spanish literature in English Translation*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1929; A. Flores, *Spanish Literature in English Translation*, New York, 1926; Z. Biaggi and F. Sánchez y Escribano, *English Translations from the Spanish, 1932 to April 1938*, Stonington, Conn., 1939; and the many articles published as far back as 1919 when Professor E. C. Hills' "A Catalogue of English Translations of Spanish Plays" appeared in *RR* (x, 263-273).

Although the Introduction states that only translations of peninsular Spanish literature and history are given, several Latin American authors are included. If the compiler's criterion is to consider Colonial letters as "peninsular Spanish" there are many omissions. If, on the other hand, he merely wishes to include some of the authors considered to form part of the history of Spanish literature such as Ruiz de Alarcón (erroneously, and contrary to Spanish usage, put under the letter "A"), Garcilaso de la Vega (Inca), Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda and Rubén Darío, there seems to be no reason to include the Mexican polygraph Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, the Cuban critic and historian of Spanish Romanticism, Enrique Piñeyro, and, still less, the Argentine poets Raúl González Tuñón and Pedro Miguel Obligado, and the Mexican historian Silvio Zavala.

There are some inconsistencies and errors in the giving of the authors' dates. Professor Pane states in the Introduction: "If no date is given the author

is contemporary." Enrique Gil y Carrasco (1815-1846), without dates, appears, therefore, as a "contemporary" writer. The date of the death of such an important author as Galdós is given as 1901 instead of 1920, and his date of birth as 1845 instead of 1843. Ramón Gómez de la Serna was born in 1891 and not in 1880. The year of the death of such outstanding writers as Serafín Álvarez Quintero (1938), Linares Rivas (1938), Antonio Machado (1939), Miró (1930), Palacio Valdés (1938), Ramón y Cajal (1934), Unamuno (1936), Valle-Inclán (1936), Villaespesa (1936) is not given. Other important deaths—Carlos Arniches (1943) and Ricardo León (1943)—might have been too recent to have been included before the book went to press.

Spanish last names are often a problem to the compiler. There are numerous instances where the failure to include the entire surname of the author leads to incorrect entry and even to duplication (e.g. Ruiz Vilaplana appears both under Ruiz and under Vilaplana. The same is true of Moreno Villa).

The alphabetical listing of all anonymous works (a total of 474 items) without any subtitles or differences in type tends to make the task of locating a specific item a wearisome one, as a long list of individual ballads and poems virtually engulfs such important works as the books of *Amadís*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *El Abencerraje*, *Auto de los Reyes Magos* and the *Poema del Cid*. In the case of Cervantes, the only subject classified, there is a serious omission: that of a subtitle between items 1148 and 1149 so that translations of *Viaje del Parnaso*, *Numancia* and those of several of the *entremeses* should not appear under the heading of "Individual novels."

There are many misprints and errors in titles and names: *El Capitán Venemo* (page 4), F. de Aldaña, Araquistán, *La escuela de las princesas* (page 46), Catilo Solórzano, Ziménez de Cisneros, Amor de Don Pimpirlín (page 109), Juan Ramón Jiménez, Jiménez de Urrea, Blanche Cotton Williams, Mayáns y Súcar, Francisco de los Santons, Pedro Tafuri. . .

Although more attention to detail and typography would have made it more recommendable, this bibliography, nonetheless, may be considered, as the author intended, a helpful list to "English speaking scholars, historians and librarians."

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*Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain.* By Leo Kirschenbaum. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 25, No. 4. Pp. viii + 317-424.

It is always a praiseworthy and useful endeavor in literary criticism to give life to one of those secondary authors of the past—even of a very recent past—

who are for us merely names in the manuals of literary history. This is exactly what Dr. Kirschenbaum has done with the personality and work of Enrique Gaspar, proving not only that Gaspar possessed a definite literary personality as a social dramatist, but also that his work, today almost entirely forgotten, is significant and indispensable for understanding the evolution of the modern Spanish theatre. Studies of this type, modest and limited in subject and outlook, give us nevertheless a clearer view of the literature of an epoch, in this case of the Spanish literature of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They are the more welcome in the field of modern Spanish literature where such research has been unduly neglected.

Gaspar, as stated, has been just a name. Yet through patient research and sympathetic treatment, Dr. Kirschenbaum has succeeded remarkably well in giving meaning to that name. He has reconstructed in the initial chapter, from first hand material, newspaper clippings, personal letters, interviews with friends and relatives of Gaspar still living, a biography which shows Gaspar as a man of engaging personal qualities, of solid literary culture and taste, and of firm conviction about the importance of bringing realism to the dramatic literature of his time in Spain. The second chapter is a detailed exposition of Gaspar's dramatic theories, especially of his conception of drama as a vehicle of social criticism; the treatment is based on four essays of Gaspar and the Preface to his play *Las personas decentes*, documents that had been up to now practically unknown and which are the record of an eager pleading for a much needed reform of the Spanish drama, still pervaded at the time by the melo-dramatic and neo-romantic *efectismo* of Echegaray and his school. The remaining chapters offer a thorough analysis of the most important of Gaspar's dramas.

Dr. Kirschenbaum has been guided in this study by sound principles of criticism. The conception of the modern theatre as a medium of social and intellectual advancement deserves the attention he gives it. The importance of Gaspar, he shows, is that of any competent author who consciously strives to open new ways in keeping with the ideas of his day about man and society. The fact that we are now out of sympathy with the conception of art as a mere reproduction of social realities, that we begin to see the trite quality of the so-called social theater and all the thesis plays, does not diminish the value of Gaspar's attempts of innovation nor his artistic courage, clearly analyzed and appraised by Dr. Kirschenbaum. He has established convincingly, with critical accuracy, Gaspar's place in dramatic literature as the most important precursor of Galdós and Benavente. He has furthermore not been blind, in spite of his avowed enthusiasm for the subject, to the many shortcomings of Gaspar's art which help explain his failure, above all the somewhat rhetorical quality of his prose and the psychological shallowness of his characters. At all events Gaspar's prose was much more interesting than the verse current in the Spanish theatre at that moment, even though it could not measure up to the

realistic prose used so effectively by several novelists and above all by Galdós. As for his characters, they are alive as social types, but seldom as individual souls. This lack of psychological insight was, of course, inherent in most of the thesis plays of the period.

It may be regretted that the author of this fine, accurate and very well written study has not been able to avoid entirely certain clichés and generalizations. "Philosophical" is used of ideas which at best have only a sociological value, as sociology was conceived in the era of positivism. There is an over-generous assumption that all progress, as understood again in the same epoch, is good in itself. There is the stereotyped generalization about education and the "conventional Spanish standards of feminine behaviour." The proof that such commonplaces should be avoided in serious literary criticism, because of conflicts with reality, is found in the study itself. Thus the author dwells at some length, in discussing *La huelga de hijos* (pages 392-394), upon the idea of the inferior place of woman in Spanish society, and yet a few pages before (page 374) he had said: "If the actual relationships of middle class couples of the period tallies with Gaspar's depiction of them on the stage, we are forced to decide that although the woman might have stayed at home . . . yet in decisions of real importance it was she who donned the trousers."

There is a problem of literary history which Dr. Kirschenbaum might have noted even though he preferred, probably with good reason, to keep close to the analysis of the personality and work of his author. The problem is this: How can it be explained that realism in Spain imposed itself readily in the field of the novel while Gaspar's attempt to introduce that same realism in the theatre in the same years failed? I suspect the answer is—and it would have been interesting to know Dr. Kirschenbaum's views—that while Spanish novelists in adapting French realism tempered its naturalism and rational implications with a religious moral sense that was nearer the Spanish attitude toward life, Gaspar followed too closely and too openly the naturalistic and rational ideas of his French models, Dumas fils, Sardou, et al. This the Spanish public would instinctively reject. When realism triumphed on the Spanish stage one generation later, not only the taste for the new literature had been already formed by almost half a century of realism in the novel, but it came to the theatre more palatably, by way of the spiritual and psychological symbolism of Galdós' dramas or the witty humor of Benavente's plays.

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*Estudios sobre literatura francesa.* Por José de la Riva-Agüero. Lima, Editorial Lumen S. A., 1944. Pp. 162.

Prestige of the French language in South America has been clearly established for many years, but the development of French literary research south



of the Rio Grande has been less conspicuous. It is consequently pleasant to welcome the publication of an intelligent series of essays by a well informed Peruvian critic. In twelve attractively written chapters, Riva-Agüero discusses with facile discrimination the transformations which marked the evolution of French poetry from Ronsard to Boileau. His opinions invite an occasional dissent, but it is agreeable to be reminded that French literature can be as vividly appreciated in Latin America as in other countries.

Riva-Agüero makes no claim to originality in his essays, and in this respect he is perhaps too modest. He states explicitly (page 19) that French literature is a field which "importa vulgarizar en América Latina, para mantener nuestros naturales y auténticos vínculos de cultura." At the end of his essays, incidentally, he draws an obvious conclusion which too many language teachers in the United States are prone to belittle, namely that good usage in the western hemisphere must include the "provincialismos que tanto nos importan aquí, porque en doctrina general abarcan los hispano-americanismos indígenas, los cuales administrados con tino, enriquecen, amplían y no rompen la inapreciable unidad del idioma castellano."

Nearly half of Riva-Agüero's book is devoted to a study of Malherbe, who emerges no less unscathed than he deserves. The author fully understands the grammarian-poet's very real contributions to the purification of French style, but without forgetting the personal pettiness which constantly hurt Malherbe himself and which operated so effectively toward the martyrization of lyricism in the 17th century. Chapter VI, for example, excellently underscores the jealousies, conceit, obsequiousness, and even religiosity with which Malherbe often stultified himself, yet Riva-Agüero does not overlook the occasional "fulgores de talento" which should soften our appraisal to-day. Curiously enough, Malherbe's famous marginal notes on Desportes receive only a passing mention (page 59), despite Riva-Agüero's defensible preference for the less noted Jean Bertaut over the Petrarchist leader of the second Pléiade: Desportes is merely "muelle y laxo" (page 60).

Compared with the long-term reverence which has been accorded to Boileau in French Canada (notably down to the days of Crémazie), not to mention the attitude of the Lima playwright Peralta Barnuevo, it is mildly intriguing to read the several condemnations which the legalistic pontiff of French classicism receives in 1944 Peru. Boileau is the "secuaz fanático de Malherbe" (page 59); he has no talent save for satire (page 136), and his *Art poétique* is only a set of platitudes by a "mero crítico, avaro y escaso, de horizonte muy estrecho, desprovisto de sensibilidad e imaginación" (page 137).

As in the case of Malherbe, Riva-Agüero is always intent on making his chronicle readable and provocative. His chapter (XI) on cycles in esthetic history excels in this respect: it is here, for instance, that he casually sets aside the "fórmulas tan apretadas y ficticias del teatro de Racine," while preferring Ronsard and Corneille as "matutinos, lozanos y siempre jóvenes" (page 147).

On the next page, the Protestant pseudo-Reformation turns up as the "innegable abuela" of French romanticism: Riva-Agüero apparently cares little for either. Chapter XI begins with some rather sententious generalities, and subsequently suffers somewhat from failure to distinguish clearly between essential classicism and its 17th century French accessories. Incidentally, this chapter takes an entertaining but cursory view of symbolism and of the even more "idiota balbucencia del dadaísmo."

In passing, it may also be noted that a twenty-page chapter on Ronsard is possibly the least informative in the book. The author refers later to Marc-Antoine de Muret (page 156) as Ronsard's teacher, a notion based no doubt on the close relations between the schools of Boncourt and Coqueret.

Riva-Agüero has agreeably surveyed a significant period in French cultural history; he has avoided unnecessary "box-office" emphasis on anecdotal materials (e.g., Richelieu's refusal to accept from Malherbe a warmed-over poem of "elogios circulares y guardados con vetustísimo fiambre"); he has introduced many useful parallels concerning Spanish and Latin-American writers; he has read French literature thoroughly and sympathetically (minor authors included); he has assembled the essentials in a chronicle which merits appreciative understanding not only in Latin America but in other cultural milieux as well.

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*Miscel·lània Fabra: Recull de treballs de lingüística catalana i romànica.* Buenos Aires, Coni, 1943. Pp. vii + 401.

It is a pleasure to note that the current of Romance philological studies, partly interrupted in Europe by the war, has found an abundant outlet in the New World. This volume, dedicated to the distinguished Catalanist Pompeu Fabra on the occasion of his 75th birthday, presents an imposing array of names, and articles of considerable interest.

In "Autour de l'Origine du Nom de Catalogne," Paul Aebischer offers a new and plausible etymology for the name *Catalonia*, which he traces back to 1114 in a treaty of alliance between Barcelona and Pisa. Montcada, or Mons Catanus, which dominates Barcelona, is mentioned in Latin documents of the 10th and 11th centuries. A formation such as \**Catatanus*, \**Catatanensis*, is not without parallel. Then, by a dissimilation similar to that which gives us *Barcelona* from *Barchinona*, we arrive at *Catalamus*, *Catalanensis*. *Catalonia* would then have been formed by a process similar to that of *Aragonia*.

In a discussion of "Bastero i els Orígens de la Llengua Catalana," P. B. Balaguer points to the early 18th-century Catalan scholar as a precursor of the theories of Raynouard to the effect that the original *lingua romana* was a primi-

tive Provençal (or perhaps Catalan). This view of a proto-Romance tongue, spoken with very minor variations throughout the entire Romanic world, or at least Gaul and Iberia, has generally been discarded. It reappears, however, in modified form, in the writings of those who favor the theory of a fairly unified Vulgar Latin prevailing in the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries in western Romania.<sup>1</sup>

A study of the occurrences of *ab*, *am*, *amb* in early Catalan texts is offered by J. Cases-Carbó, with the conclusion that *ab* is a purely literary form, corresponding to spoken-language *am* (before consonants) and *amb* (before vowels). The evidence for this conclusion seems scanty.

A. Galí presents a lengthy study on "L'Alliberament de la Frase"; this is a treatise on the art of composition in modern Catalan, with copious literary examples.

Philological and folklore notes based on a reading of "La Colla del Carrer" are the offering of J. G. Mas. Among the interesting words of 19<sup>th</sup> century Barcelona slang of which definitions and explanations (but not etymologies) are attempted are: *mossos de las cordas* and *russos* ("cops"); *fer vaca* ("to carry an enterprise half-way through"); *quart i ajuda*, *fet*, *baras i lladres*, *romamí-romamà*, *carvall fort*, *rateta*, and other popular and childish games. Of etymological interest among these words is *olla* used for the literary *cap*, which seems to be a historical repetition of the semantic evolution of *testa*.

Argentina's foremost Romanist, Amado Alonso, in a convincingly written article, undertakes to reclassify the Romance tongues. Refuting Meyer-Lübke's view of Catalan as an 8<sup>th</sup>-century offshoot of Provençal,<sup>2</sup> he claims an early and intensive romanization of what is today Andalucía and Catalonia. Iberia and Provence, in his opinion, were far more thoroughly romanized than was northern Gaul. The ultimate Romance result appears in the numerous characteristics which Provençal, Gascon, Catalan, Aragonese, and even Leonese and Portuguese-Galician have in common, in opposition to the innovations of French and Castilian. In this, he ingeniously blends the theories of G. Rohlfs, who had claimed a "Pyrenean" group of Romance tongues,<sup>3</sup> and of Menéndez Pidal, who had conclusively proved in his *Orígenes del español* the intrinsic similarities of all the early dialects of the Spanish peninsula, including Mozarabic and excluding Castilian. The one linguistic border-line of real importance in the Romance world, says Alonso, is the one separating northern French from Provençal. What of the earlier and much-discussed division of Romania into an "eastern" and a "western" group?<sup>4</sup> Alonso does not care to deny it directly. He encircles it; there may have been such a division, but at an earlier period. At any rate, Roumanian is placed in a class

1. See especially H. F. Muller, *Chronology of Vulgar Latin*, ZRP, Beiheft 78, 1929.

2. *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, sect. 24.

3. *Le Gascon*, ZRP, Beiheft 85, 1935.

4. See W. von Wartburg, *Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume*, ZRP, LVI (1936), 1-49; G. Devoto, *Storia della lingua di Roma*, Bologna, 1940, pp. 296 ff.

by itself, by reason of its geographic isolation and distinctive morphological features. French is in another separate category, by reason of its revolutionary phonetic changes, due to an imperfectly assimilated Celtic substratum and a strong and never fully adjusted Germanic superstratum. In the other sections of western Romania the substratum was thoroughly assimilated, and the superstratum was relatively weak. Castilian, despite its later ascendancy in the Iberian peninsula, was at the outset the dialect of a very circumscribed region, and its revolutionary features are due to the fact that this region was never thoroughly romanized.

The weak spot in Alonso's demonstration, as he is the first to admit, is Italian, with its numerous and widely diverging dialects. Alonso rather vaguely assigns it to the "general Romance" class, and lumps it with Catalan, Provençal, Portuguese and the non-Castilian Spanish dialects. But if we accept Alonso's own major criterion of classification (diphthongization or non-diphthongization of stressed vowels in the free and in the checked position), we find central Italian coinciding, at least in part, with French, and many southern Italian dialects with Castilian. The Gallo-Italian dialects, furthermore, show almost complete coincidence with French in the matter of the diphthongization of free stressed vowels. But non-diphthongizing Provençal intervenes geographically between northern French and Gallo-Italian. Von Wartburg tried to solve the riddle by claiming a Longobardic influence for northern and central Italy similar to that exerted by the Franks in northern France.<sup>5</sup> Alonso, who couples the historical factor of greater or lesser romanization with the substratum and superstratum, runs into a historico-geographical problem, for it is difficult to think of Cisalpine Gaul as being less thoroughly romanized than Gallia Narbonensis. I am still inclined to believe that the various features distinguishing the Romance languages are not to be interpreted as primarily reflecting substratum, superstratum, or degree of romanization; and that the fact that two or more Romance areas show similar linguistic features does not necessarily prove an intimate connection between them.<sup>6</sup> Romance philologists are perhaps too prone to overstress those linguistic similarities which fit their theories, correspondingly minimizing those linguistic differences which do not fall in with their views.

By way of contrast, P. Bosch i Gimpera, in "Lingüística i Etnologia Primitiva a Catalunya," presents the theory of a threefold Catalan substratum (Iberian, Celtic and Ligurian), and suggests the survival of these varied substrata in the various dialects of Catalan. No element of proof is or, in the nature of things, can very well be offered.

In "Noms de Lloc Catalans d'Origen Germànic," J. Coromines traces actual etymologies of personal and place-names, with varying success. The

5. *Posizione della lingua italiana*, Firenze, 1940; and see my review, *RR*, xxxii, 1, 109-114.

6. Pei, "East" and "West" Romance, *RR*, xxxiv, 3, 238-239.

Germanic names of Spain are not always clear, the Iberian and Celtic names even less so. The derivation of Catalan *-iu* and Spanish *-iz* from a Germanic *-ic* with a Gothic or latinized genitive ending *-i* is not quite so definitely established as the author would have us think.<sup>7</sup>

William Entwistle, author of *The Spanish Language* and leader of the English idealistic school, offers in "Remarks on the Idealistic Extensions of Linguistic Science" an interesting discussion of impressionism in language, and courteously breaks a lance with Alonso and Lida, who hold that "el lenguaje mismo no puede ser impresionista." Syntax, says Entwistle, is of primary importance for the meaningfulness of language; for morphology there is no separate place in linguistic science, as proved by languages like Chinese; all languages have devised symbols to connote affective values. With the mechanists of the Young Grammarian school, Entwistle is not so patient; they seek the sum total of all linguistic things in "science"; but "science" cannot give us the key to the inner meaning of language. And complete language, above all, is not merely a matter of its articulator and transmitter, but also of its hearer-receiver; of transmitted meanings as well as transmitted sounds. A refreshing philosophy of language indeed, particularly when compared with the pseudo-scientific drivel to which the war has unfortunately given currency in this country.

L. Faraudo de Saint-Germain presents a comprehensive plan for a general dictionary of the medieval Catalan language, which would provide not only etymologies, meanings, comparisons with other Romance tongues, and major orthographic variants but also citations of texts where the words occur, after the model of La Curne de Sainte Palaye (one might suggest Godefroy as a model worthier of imitation). A very interesting 26-page sample of the dictionary the author has in mind is offered.

The developments of *homo non sapit* in Franco-Provençal and Rhetian territory, with material gathered largely from the *Atlas linguistique de la France*, is the offering of the late Louis Gauchat. The suggestion is made at the close of the article that this research should be extended to the Italian field, with the help of Jaberg and Jud's *Sprach- und Sachatlas*.

A 25-page "Vocabulari Rossellonès" is contributed by Carles Grandó; translations are given in Catalan and French. A similar vocabulary of the dialect of Benassal is the work of Carles Salvador. On the same order are R. Violant i Simorra's "Terminologia sobre l'Individu en el Flamisell" and Lluís P. Flores' "Vocabulari Valencià de l'Art de la Navegació i de la Construcció Naval."

F. Mateu i Llopis contributes a study of Saracen names encountered in a

7. For the various theories, see Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, (4th ed.), III, 142; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, 7-8; J. Baist, in Gröber's *Grundriss* (2nd ed.), I, 908; J. Cornu, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 992; Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española* (5th ed.), p. 198; E. C. Hills, *Revue Hispanique*, LXVIII (1926), 161-173; L. H. Gray, *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris*, XXXVI (1935), 163-166.

Valencian tax-list of the year 1409; Arabic place-names and names of coins are included.

Two excellent collections of Catalan and Provençal etymologies are contributed by Leo Spitzer and O. J. Tuulio (Tallgren). The words treated by the former are *quelcom* (Prov. *calacom*, *que(z)acom*), *ram*, *melangia*, *aldà* (*oldà*), and OPr. *(per)digastendos*, while the latter explores the Catalan outcomes of *accusare*, *firmare*, *natus*, *sentire*, *unus*. It may be remarked in connection with Tallgren's handling of *sentire* that the popular Argentine use of *sentir* in the sense of "to hear," to the practical exclusion of *oír*, may be due to the influence of Italian immigrants, Italian having precisely the same usage as Catalan in this respect.

A thorough study of the stressed *e*'s of Valencian is the work of G. Renat i Ferrís. Then comes a discussion of the legends of medieval seals, particularly in the Catalan area, by Ferran de Sagarra. "Folklore Geogràfic de la Comarca d'Alcoi," by M. Sanchis Guarner, with the words and even the music of popular songs in which the region's place-names enter, closes this generous and well-presented volume.

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